1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Veamatahau, Vea, from Matahau. T,H,V
Veaniua, Vea from Niuatoputapu. T
Veatama, the child who is a chief.
Veatokelau, the chief from the north, Vea of the north.
Veatoki, a strong chief.
Veatonga, Vea from the south.
Veatoutai, Vea the chief of fishermen. T
Veatupu, Vea the strong; a chief that is distinguished. T, H, V
Veehala, the side of the road; not in step; to step wrong (as in a dance). T,V
Veekalifisi, the feet of the wooden pillow from Fiji.
Veetokelau, the feet that come from the north; foot of the north.
Veetutu, the feet that beat time in the dance. H
Vehikite, something that appears in sight. T,V,NT
Veikune, a good chief. T,H,V
Vela, hot; to burn; to scald. NT
Velevelu, the good that comes quickly.
Velia, itchy.
Velovelo, throw the dart (it was the cry of the warriors when fighting). T
Vesi, verse. T
Vete, to seize the spoil of a conquered foe; to disburden; the name of a fish. T
Vetule, to jog along, as one old or weak. H
Veua, two things.
Vi, the name of a tree and its fruit. T, H, V, NT, NF
Viau, something of mine. H,NF
Vika, Victoria. H
Vikaheilala, Victoria of the *heilala* tree.
Vikatoa, a whole *vi* fruit; all the *vi* fruit. V
Vikena, the *vi* fruit that is reddish when ripe. T,H
Vilai, a bean. T
Vili, a gimlet; to drill; to go quickly. T
Viliami, William. T
Vilingia, to be blown away; to be blown. H
Vivi, the name of a grass; dead; stinking. V, NT
Vivili, to feel; to be conscious of. NT
Vola, a fast dye. H
Vuki, something at a distance. H,V
Vulase (a Fijian word).
Vuna, a real chief. T
Vunaila, a chief with a scar.
Vungakoto, the step upon which the mast of the vessel stands. V

THE OUTLYING ISLANDS

Although little was added to the previous knowledge concerning the expansion of the Tongans beyond the limits of the modern kingdom of Tonga, some light was obtained as to the peopling of some of the remoter islands of the Tongan Archipelago proper. The islands I refer to in particular, named from north to south, are Fonualei, Toku, Late, Kao, and Ata or Pylstaarts. The first is now a hopeless wreck due to volcanic activity. Toku, Late, Kao, and Ata are no longer inhabited. Late and Kao are high volcanic islands. Ata is high and presumably volcanic. Toku is low and according to Tongan informants coralline. Most of my information concerns Ata. Before taking up that island I shall first discuss the brief data concerning the others. As will appear, these outlying islands sometimes served as havens for the politically disfavored. (See Harangue about Mumui, p. 156, in which the poet exclaims, "Exile me to Toku Island.")

Toku and Fonualei were held by a single group of people. Toku seems to have been the residence center and Fonualei the farming center, the Toku people utilizing Fonualei for gardens, perhaps because of the volcanic

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Toku, Fonualei, and Kao Islands]

soil. The population of Fonualei became so large and permanent that a church was erected there. The maximum figures for the two islands were one hundred souls on each in the time of the chief Abraham Tangaloa. However, the fertile land of Fonualei became a desert waste with the volcanic eruption of 1846. The people removed to Toku in time to avoid loss of life. Later the entire Toku population was moved to the Vavau group proper by the missionaries, for convenience in church attendance. Their descendants seem to reside principally at Utulei, Pangaimotu Island.

The Toku people were political exiles from Haamea in the central district of Tongatabu. The people of Haamea fought the Hihifo people during the reign of the Tui Kanokupolu Mataeletuapiko and were overcome. They fled to Toku under the leadership of the Haamea chiefs Tukutukuholoipangai, Ofakehokomaikaetau, and a third chief. Talafaiva, daughter of the Tui Haa Takalaua and (later?) wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (Telea) was with them. The refugees were all of the Haa Takalaua and it seems likely that the struggle between Haamea and Hihifo was but a part of the Tui Kanokupolu's effort to eclipse the Tui Haa Takalaua. It is said that people from Makave in Vavau went to Toku to help the chiefs from Haamea. When the Haamea refugees arrived at Toku they found Niuatoputapu people in possession. These were ordered to leave and did so peaceably. This settlement of people from Haamea must have occurred in the seventeenth century if the references to Mataeletuapiko and Talafaiva are correct.

The son of one of the refugee chiefs from Haamea became the ruler of the Toku people under the title of Tangaloa. The last Tangaloa was Abraham Tangaloa of Utulei, Pangaimotu Island. The Tui Kanokupolu appointed the Tangaloa. The second Tangaloa bore the personal name of Katainatoa.

The god of the Toku people was incarnate in the *tukuhali* or sea snake, I could not learn the name of the god or the title of the priest. The Toku incarnation of the god fell into a well. The well was in consequence filled and a new one dug for use.

Tradition names the top of Kao Island, Haapai, as the site of a village, a statement which is pure fiction, as I learned by climbing to the summit, 3380 feet above sea level. A woman there one day said she was going for a walk. She intended to visit one of the coral islands which seemed to lie so close below that one could step over to it. She threw down her bundle of mats, then followed it, and was dashed to pieces on the rocks below. This tale is evidently told to illustrate the extreme steepness of Kao.

The ancient settlement on Kao was near the shore, not at the summit. The shore settlement was probably on the northwestern side, nearest Tofua.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled.

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude 22° 20′, almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of safety for the certain political refugees.

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later.

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in 1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude 22° 22′, 175° 59′ west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of Ata:

> . . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *kamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Ată, which is the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one town on Ata and it was called Kolomaile, literally Myrtle town. It was divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama (16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupouata, a descendant of the principal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

were but seven aborigines left when Tapuosi arrived and they were all men. 173
Of the total of five Ata informants that I interviewed three had heard of 166
the aborigines, a fourth seemed extremely hazy on the subject, and although 484
he assented when I finally made the question leading. The fifth informant 609
denied all knowledge of pre-Tongan aborigines on Ata. Here is Tupouata's account of the aborigines and their annihilation by Motuapuaka:

When Motuapuaka and Tapuosi landed on the beach they saw at once the aborigines who were very tall people, "their thigh bones being the length of an ordinary man." Upon landing the elopers made straight for the people. The aborigines had no fire but appeared to eat their food raw, the principal diet being the fruit of the pandanus and shell fish. The two lovers arrived in the morning and sat on the beach watching the Ata islanders play a game called la'ula'ulo. This game was played by pinching the skin of the back of the hands. Two people played and placed the hands one above another alternately. The Ata people were exceedingly rough in this game, pinching very hard, biting one another, and "even eating one another." Tapuosi was quite frightened and told Motuapuaka that she was afraid of the savages. Motuapuaka took a stick and beat the aborigines who could not fight, wrestle, or throw missiles. He drove them into a cave. Then he pulled down their huts of grass and piled the grass in front of the cave. He set fire to it and proceeded to suffocate the aborigines. For a day and a night Motuapuaka kept the fire burning. He heard the cries of his victims but had no pity on them. It is said that the bones of those people are still to be seen in a big cave in Ata. The aborigines are said to have talked "like birds." In complexion they were like Tongans but were exceedingly tall, slender people.

Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were not forced to depend upon the unpalatable pandanus fruit, for they had brought with them coconuts and yams, which they planted.

Presumably the arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi at Ata, if it is an his- 173
torical fact, occurred in the early eighteenth century. The genealogies of 166
the Tui Tonga family reveal a Tapuosi, daughter of the thirty-fourth Tui 484
Tonga, Fakanaanaa. Presumably Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were accompanied by followers.

There came next to Ata, according to the account of modern informants, a chief named Tameifuna, a man of Tungua Island in Haapai.

Tameifuna was voyaging home from Fiji and being somewhat out of the usual course made Ata. He brought with him his wife Siakumi, whom he deserted, however, for an Ata woman named Otulau, the daughter of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. When Tameifuna returned to Tungua he left his wife Otulau behind. He told her to call the child, which she was to bear, Laufilitonga if a boy, Sinaitakala if a girl. The 173
child proved to be a boy, who later became the father of the first chief of Ata, Tupouata. 622
Tupouata claimed his chiefliness on the basis of his ancestress, Tapuosi being the
daughter of the Tui Tonga. Tameifuna was the highest chief to reside in Ata. It was [643]
said by informants that Tupouata became "king" of Ata at the wish of the people of that island and that he was not appointed by either the Tui Tonga or the Tui Kanokupolu.

The third accretion to the population of the island came in the latter part 173
of the eighteenth century. The chief Vaea of Houma, Tongatabu, had a 166
daughter named Hehea, who had a daughter named Latuhehea. Hehea 484

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata Island]

wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea, at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata. They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own. Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latuhehea and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15, (in pocket) shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the probable time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin marriage was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to relatives as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
21-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
56-58: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

A /See Category 173, End Table A-C --Analyst/

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Ata and Niuatoputapu Islands]

So the kava root was chewed and squeezed and eaten, and the people drank it, then all lay down drunk. After the first infusion of the kava the strainings were divided and each house was given a share so that each house had a drink. On this occasion it was Mu'a, the mother of Julia Ukulolo, who did the chewing and who after the bowl was brought squeezed and strained the kava. Julia Ukulolo was an informant interviewed in 1921.

The population of Ata had its maximum with about two hundred individuals, one hundred of which were children according to modern informants. In fact at the time of removal to Eua it was said that there were one hundred school children.

About 1860 a serious disaster overtook the islanders. The following account of what happened was obtained from Tupouata who was at the time twelve or thirteen years old. Another informant, Julia Ukulolo, was eight or nine years old and was in school at the time that the disaster befell. The disaster was in the form of kidnapping by a Peruvian ship. Julia's older brother was taken away by this raider. Tupouata also laid the trouble to the treachery of a Tongan named Paul Vehi, who had been educated in Sydney during a sojourn of two years and who claimed to have been appointed mayor of Ata by King George I. The Ata people were already Christians when the raid occurred.

When the Peruvian raider appeared she was black with white doors painted upon her sides to make her look like a man-of-war. Vehi went aboard and presumably arranged the kidnapping. When he returned ashore, he made a proclamation that each family was to send a good-looking man aboard with provisions to sell. There was to be no selling on shore, and furthermore the selling on the ships was to take place below decks. Once the Ata people were aboard they were sent to various rooms to select the goods they wanted in exchange. After entering the rooms the doors were locked. Just how many were kidnapped I could not learn. Eight men who were waiting in boats beside the ship escaped, for one of them perceived what had happened. They were however pursued by the ship's boat.

When King George I heard about the raid he sent the three schooners Sialeataongo, Elenoa, and Tupou to bring the people away from Ata, lest more of them be kidnapped. The schooners sailed to Eua, but were unable to land the people on account of the heavy sea. They were therefore taken to Nukualofa and lodged temporarily at Pangai, the site of the present wireless station. Large quantities of food were furnished the refugees by the king. Later they were transported to Eua where they and their descendants now live.

NIUATOPUTAPU ISLAND

Niuatoputapu (Niua Doubly Prohibited) is one of the two northern outlying groups of the modern Tongan kingdom, the other being Niuafoou or New Niua. Niuatoputapu perhaps derives its name from the privilege

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

more cava root to be prepared,—on a sudden he pronounced aloud the word *boogi* (hold or arrest). Instantly all the chiefs and warriors that had been particularly active against him in the late war were seized by men previously appointed: their hands were tied fast behind them; and they were taken down to the beach, where, with the club, several were immediately dispatched; and the remainder were reserved till the afternoon, for what is considered a more signal punishment, viz. to be taken out to sea, and sunk in old leaky canoes. This transaction seemed to show how little was to be trusted to the honour of Finow, and how well founded were the suspicions of those Vavaoo chiefs, who had said that no reliance was to be placed in him; and that there was little doubt but that he would take an early opportunity of exercising his revenge: *they* therefore acted a wise part, who, as soon as the peace was concluded, fled at the earliest opportunity, some to the island of Tonga, others to the Fiji islands. It must, however, be acknowledged that Finow had received information of a conspiracy which these chiefs were designing against him; and if this be true, his conduct was certainly less reproachable*. Finow being apprehensive

* It must be remarked that their innocence was never positively asserted; nobody supposed that they had actually

A [Finow--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Tonga, we shall give an account of these transactions in the order in which they happened, and conclude with the ceremony of pardon, granted by Finow to Toobo Malohi and his followers.

The reader will recollect, perfectly well, the fortress of Nioocalofa, on the island of Tonga, which Finow besieged with the four carronades, and afterwards burnt to the ground, with great slaughter of the garrison. Toobo Malohi was chief of this fortress at the time; and in consequence of Finow's vigorous attack, he left it, with such of his followers as could save themselves, and fled up the country, to seek refuge in some other fortress. This chief had all along been unfortunate: at the time of the great revolution of Tonga, and the early success of Finow, he had fled to the Fiji islands with his followers, and had resided there some time; gaining experience in the art of war. On his return to Tonga, he built the fortress of Nioocalofa; from which he was afterwards driven by Finow, as just related: he next took refuge in some other fortress; from which, owing to the jealousy of the chief, or some other cause, he was obliged to depart, and seek shelter in a third; from whence he was driven by some untoward circumstance; and thus he became, in fact, quite a refugee; nobody being willing to receive him in a sincere and friendly way: till

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

at length, however, he considered himself to have found a permanent asylum in the fortress of Hihifo, with Teoo Cava, the chief who had made Finow a present of the extraordinary well trained bird. Teoo Cava received him and his followers in a very cordial manner, considering them a great acquisition to his strength; for they had the reputation of being all great warriors, well schooled in the military practices of Fiji.

Teoo Cava, at length finding that no enemy thought proper to attack him, resolved to lay siege to the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo: he was successful in his attack, and took it with an inconsiderable loss of men. This being done, he determined, contrary to the advice of his matabooles, to garrison both fortresses. The reason the matabooles gave for the impolicy of this conduct, was the readiness with which the enemy made their retreat; which they thought argued their intentions of returning speedily, with fresh strength. Ambition, and desire of larger possessions, blinding him, however, to his own proper interests, he neglected sage counsel; and, dividing his forces, reserved the choicest half for his own personal safety in the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo, and commissioned the rest to defend Hihifo. He had with him Toobo Malohi and his

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

669 727 chief named Ata; he was not an old man, but he had a great reputation for political wisdom, and military skill. He was a native of the island, but at the time of the revolution his friends and acquaintance had all gone over to the Hapai islands for peace and safety. He however resolved to remain for the sake of his oldest and most sincere friend, Teoo Cava, and to assist and stand by him to the last; (for Ata was endowed also with some of the best qualities of the human heart). As Teoo Cava was now no more, Ata, conscious of his skill in war, and the confidence which all the men placed in him, proposed to take upon himself the command of the garrison; and his offers were gladly accepted. The other garrisons of the island soon hearing of the death of Teoo Cava, and the great losses he had sustained, several of them entered into league against Hihifo, and shortly commenced a siege, which lasted fourteen days; but at length, quarrelling among themselves, and finding the besieged hold out so manfully, and withal being struck with awful astonishment, at the extraordinary bravery of Maccapapa*, who was said to be invincible by the immediate protection of the gods;—they raised the siege, and each party

669 726

[727 166] * It will be recollected that Maccapapa was formerly in the service of Toe Oomoo; but at the peace he left Vavaoo, apprehensive that Finow might play him some treachery.

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Two vertical pits were sunk in the floor of the cave to depths of 3.1 feet and 3.2 feet, respectively. Bedrock was encountered. The first shaft was 3 feet by 3.5 feet square, the second was 2.2 feet wide and 8 feet long. Both excavations may be described as a unit.

A hard surface layer, about 0.7 foot thick, is very rich in carbonaceous materials. Below this is a loosely packed mass of earth, 2 to 2.2 feet thick, very rich in whitish ash and burnt coral oven-rock. It rests upon a thin layer of yellowish gravel, which in turn, rests upon bedrock. The entire formation is horizontally stratified. The top layer contained many carbonized shells of the *twitwi* nut, a few bones of fish and of small land vertebrates, and a few scraps of iron of undoubted recent source. The thick under-layer produced, besides quantities of oven-stones, many marine shells and a few bones of fish and of small land vertebrates. A small potsherd was found 2 feet below the surface, near the bottom of the deposit. No other artifacts were found.

As for Cave 1, the data for Cave 2 are meager, but tend to establish a line between the period of intensive pottery use and the period of contact with European culture.

MOTUTAPU SITES

Burial Places

The low island of Motutapu, about 2 miles north of the eastern end of Tongatabu, is about one-half mile in length, and one-quarter mile in width. The present native inhabitants are not descendants of the former Motutapu people and, therefore, know nothing of the traditional history or mythology of the place.

Near the center of the island, close to the southeast shore, was found a circular, flat-topped earthen mound 55 feet in diameter at the base, 43 feet in diameter across the flat top, and 3.5 feet high, giving the sides a slope of about 30° (fig. 47, *b*). The surface of the mound appeared to be a mixture of sand and dark, loamy soil. Around the margin of the flat top, forming an outlining circle, is a series of flat, coralline slabs, irregularly spaced, roughly dressed, each planted in a vertical position. Some of these stones stand only a few inches above the ground. They average 0.5 foot in thickness and a little more than 1 foot in length. The largest is 1.9 feet in height, 2 feet in length, and 0.6 foot in thickness. Excavation started at the central top of the mound soon discovered the upper edges of what proved to be a stone burial enclosure (fig. 47, *c*).

The burial place consisted of a dozen rectangular, coral slabs set up vertically on edge to form a six-sided, somewhat coffin-shaped compartment. The two parallel ends of this compartment are, respectively, 5 feet and 4.5 feet in length and are placed 8 feet apart. The sides form a slight outward angle in connecting the two ends. Ends and sides are 0.5 to 0.6 foot thick. The horizontal plane defined by the tops of these

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tongan landed chiefs are land hungry. The old practice was to claim as much as possible of the neighbouring lord's territory upon his death. Careful surveys now being made by the government are fixing permanently the boundaries of hereditary lands, so that expansion of one's holdings at the expense of some minor heir who is unfamiliar with his inheritance will soon be no longer possible. It is of interest to note that the chief who would be Tui Tonga, if that office had not been abolished, has by legal procedure in recent years secured the return of lands improperly claimed by others.

Euro-American culture has had a hand in transforming the Tongan population from a rural one to a village-dwelling one. The transformation had its beginning at the end of the eighteenth century when civil war forced the people to leave their farms and seek refuge in fortresses. Thus village life seems to have begun. Then came the missionary and a great wave of religious enthusiasm which served to reinforce the new village ties rather than to dissipate them. The copra trade and the scant attention required for the coconut trees doubtless, in a negative way, has helped to perpetuate the village life. The result is that modern Tonga is a country of villages. The farms surround the villages at varying distances and the villager makes periodic excursions to his eight-acres of farm land. All of this has not been beneficial to agriculture. Much land once cultivated intensively has become bush. There are signs, however, of revival. A prominent chief is inducing his people to give up village life and dwell on their farms. Recently introduced agricultural fairs seem also to offer a much-needed stimulus. It seems likely that the next few decades will see a return to the intensive cultivation of heathen days. The series of food plants has been much enlarged by introductions.

Tracts of farm land are sometimes given the names of foreign lands with which the Tongan has become acquainted in school. More frequently, however, tracts within the villages are given such names. The Tongan seems to have a considerable interest in geography and he likes to travel. His geographic poems amply attest this. This love of travel and of topography is still rife. The monthly steamers and the sailing passenger boats carry many Tongans from one part of the archipelago to another or to more distant Samoa and Fiji. Modern vessels continue to cater to the Tongans'

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

long continued and unmistakeable. The scanty population, living on the adjacent island of Toku, were able, therefore, to make their escape from the vicinity of the awful conflagration. Their principal gardening grounds lay upon Fonua Lei, and these were first of all deserted. But finding too scanty a subsistence upon Toku itself, and dreading, from the frequency and force of the earthquakes occurring, some sudden outbreak, the people removed, in the course of the year 1845, to a portion of land assigned them by King George in the island of Vavau. The departure did not take place too soon, for the eruption broke out in the beginning of the following year. Upon our arrival in Vavau in the month of July, and for many months afterwards, we could look out from our windows, night after night, upon the glare of the tremendous fires, although at a distance from us of forty miles.

For several weeks prior to the eruption, earthquakes were unusually severe and frequent in the Vavau group; while very strange and terrific sounds were heard both before and after it took place. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of great alarm, for it appeared as if their own land would be involved in ruin. At the time of the catastrophe, an American whaling ship, commanded by Captain Samson, while on the way to Vavau, fell in with and passed through a thick and heavy shower of ashes and pumice-stone. He gave the Missionaries the following statement, and placed in our hands a bottle containing some of the dust and ashes that had fallen upon the deck of his vessel.

"At the time we saw the cloud it was a double-reefed topsail breeze from the north-east; but it was a beautiful, clear, starlight night. As we ap-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

133 an early period, for safety, to one or other of the [797] Haabai islands.

For some months after this visit the signs of a [166] coming rupture increased; and, by an express order from King George, the inhabitants removed from the island towards the close of 1854. At that period the waters of the lake were almost at boiling heat, and a large section of the cultivatable land was scorched up.

[797] But as no actual or serious eruption had taken place up to the close of 1855, at which time our residence in the islands terminated, it may fairly be supposed that the dreadful eruption of Late, during the course of the previous year, had given vent to the internal forces, so as to relieve the pressure from that particular locality.

Two more volcanic eruptions, of a different character from those already described, remain to be mentioned. They may be called oceanic volcanoes. In the year 1852 a large canoe was proceeding [724] from Vavau to Tonga, carrying troops and arms, [669] to join the forces of King George, in a war then raging, on the latter island. Those on board observed, a great fire to the westward of their course, when they were about half-way between the islands of Late and Tofua. Supposing it to be a ship on fire, they altered their course, and steered towards it. It soon became certain, however, that it was not a burning ship. The water was strangely agitated; and the fire evidently ascended from the sea itself. Greatly alarmed, and full of amazement, the crew again kept on the proper course. Immediately upon their arrival in Tonga, they reported what had been seen; but nothing further was observed until 1855. In that year the same singular

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

This table shows that it is certainly not a case of "every household being related to every other household", and emphasizes the comparative independence of Tongan households. All the same the figures are remarkably low, even for a Tongan village, I am told. How is this to be explained?

It seems that at least part of the explanation is to be found in the fact that there are so many people in the village who come from a different area: 47 of the 106 households in the village are those of men who are not of local origin, their places of origin being tabulated below:[34]

TABLE 4

PLACES OF ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANT HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Place of Origin of Head of Household	No. of Households
Niuafo'ou	6
Niuatoputapu	3
Ha'apai	18
Vava'u	8
Tungua	3
Eua	4
Other (mainly villages in Tongatapu)	5
	47

Now 47 out of 106, representing 44.5 per cent of all the households in the village, is an unusually high figure compared with, for instance, Fiji. From discussions in Tonga, I am told that it is also a high figure even for a Tongan village, so that this village must be regarded as atypical in this respect. But why this unusual feature?

The land tenure system, of course, in its principles opens up the possibility for movement from one area to another in search of land, and may be expected to produce effects of the type noticed in this village. In fact, however, explanation of the mixed nature of the village population was given to me in terms of the relatively central position of the village and its proximity to the capital town and to the schools and other institutions situated in or around it. Something of this was seen in B's comment on p. 102; but it can be confirmed by figures relating to the distribution of land in the village itself. Below is a table of the relative distribution of land among households of local and of immigrant origin respectively:

TABLE 5

RELATIVE LAND DISTRIBUTION AMONG LOCAL AND IMMIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS

No. of *Api* per Household	No. of Households		Percentage of Households in Each Category	
	L.	I.	L.	I.
0	7	20	12	42.5
1	39	23	66	49
2	7	4	12	8.5
3	4	—	6.5	—
4	2	—	3.5	—
	59	47	100.0	100.0

[34] The first six places named are other islands in the Tongan Group, except Ha'apai, which is a group of islands within the Tongan Group.

31: Nayacakalou E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1959
OU9 Tonga OU9

592 621 423 166 It is clear that the people who come from another village or island fare worse than those of local origin as far as land distribution is concerned. While I have no data comparing their position here with what it would have been in their own villages (and it is likely that they are worse off here) it seems clear that their presence in this village cannot be explained consistently in terms of any search for land. As far as the land tenure system is concerned, therefore, it would appear wrong to suppose that just because it opens up the possibility for movement, such movement will actually take place.

8—Land Tenure and Village Structure

621 613 622 [592] [166] From the material already given it seems clear that the structure of this village is certainly not based upon a firm lineage organisation. The overall principle which binds the people together is simply their common subjection to their traditional overlord. The amorphous nature of kinship in its role of binding together the different households of the village has been demonstrated, so that from this point of view the village is largely an aggregation of isolated households. It has been pointed out that the village is atypical in having so many persons who come from other areas, and much of the nature of the village structure must be due to this factor. But how far the village is also atypical in respect of its lack of an overall lineage organisation is not clear, and I made no specific comparative enquiries along these lines. The data supplied by Gifford,[35] however, suggest that the tendency is for the large modern villages to be of the form observed here.

621 36 178 Such a form of village structure is, I suggest, rather to be expected from the nature of village evolution in Tonga. The development of the nucleated village form is of comparatively recent origin, dating back to certainly not earlier than the 17th century. Before that there were only peasant farmers cultivating their holdings from farmsteads

613 622 621 361 scattered throughout the countryside. From the nature of the Tongan lineage, it is clear that not all such farmers who came under the control of any particular chief need necessarily be related by blood. When they came together to form villages, therefore, it was more on the basis of common allegiance to the feudal overlord than on the basis of relationship in the male line.

621 613 602 571 [423] To return to our village, however, we may say that although ties of kinship or lineage affiliation between households are of attenuated development in this village, they are supplemented by other ties—those based upon religious affiliation, economic co-operation, and even on general "friendship". In a large part, these ties have developed as a result of living together in villages; and, taken together with kinship ties, they are seen to influence the distribution (using this word in its widest sense) and working of the land in ways which are not contemplated by the legal system, but which do not therefore violate it. Land tenure, for its part, also produces certain associations and interdependencies between households, which play an important part in the final elaborations of the village structure.

[35] Gifford 1929:8-10.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

McArthur has recalled in some detail evidence of loss of life during this period.[13]

Such contemporary observations as were made were not always supported by other evidence, but it can be assumed that the ravages of war and disease affected the various islands unevenly and at different times, epidemics probably having fewer widespread effects than in the larger islands of the Pacific; there was a high mortality rate, especially of infants; and, with few in the reproductive age groups, a sex imbalance, and later marriages (induced partly because of the "grim social code of the missionaries"), the population declined considerably.

Distribution of Population by Island Groups (percentages)

	Pre-contact[1]	1840[2]	1891[3]	1921[4]	1939[5]	1956[6]	1966[7]
Tongatapu	43.9	43.2	—	—	—	55.0	61.9
'Eua	2.0	0.8	—	—	—	3.4	4.4
Tongatapu and 'Eua	45.9	44.0	36.6	42.6	46.2	58.4	66.3
Ha'apai	21.9	21.6	28.2	25.2	21.9	17.5	13.7
Vava'u	21.9	21.6	26.5	24.4	24.0	22.0	17.5
Other[8]	10.4	12.4	8.7	7.8	7.9	2.2	2.6
Total population	29,700	18,500	19,968	24,935	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1] Estimated by Maude (1965): 27.
[2] Wilkes, cited by Maude: ibid.
[3] Missionary account. Census 1956: 17.
[4] Wood (1952) Appendix 6.
[5] Census 1956: 41.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Census 1966: 36.
[8] Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu. Niuafo'ou had no population in 1956.

3. *1852–* : "A phase of adjustment and recovery" dating from 1852 when the civil war ended, but probably having little effect on growth until the 1890s. From this date the population grew "slowly but irregularly" from some 20,000 in 1891 to about 24,000 in 1918, with occasional epidemics still taking a large toll of life. The increased growth rate in recent years, due largely to improved health measures and the absence of epidemics, has produced a population at least double the most generous estimates given for the pre-contact period. Thus between 1891 and 1931, the annual rate of increase was 1.1 percent; between 1931 and 1956, 3.1 percent, and between 1956 and 1966, 3.6 percent. This increase, together with the marked movement of population to Tongatapu referred to below, suggests that Tonga has now entered a phase of dynamic growth. Tupouniua's phase of "adjustment and recovery" can be said to have ended in the 1940s.[14]

[13] McArthur (1956): 202-206; and (1967): 68-75.
[14] —— (1967): 96. An epidemic of measles in 1893 is reported to have killed a twentieth of the population, and an influenza epidemic in 1918 a tenth of the population of some islands.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

The distribution of population within the group has changed considerably from pre-contact days, with population movement being more responsible for this rather than inter-island differences in birth or mortality rates. During the nineteenth century, the relative importance of Tongatapu declined compared with pre-contact times; it regained its former importance only in the 1940s, since which time it has accounted for over half the total population. Together, Ha'apai and Vava'u retained their former importance until well into this century, the former until the 1940s, the latter until the 1960s. Population loss has been greatest from Ha'apai, and Vava'u has exceeded it in population since the 1920s. Undoubtedly there were movements of people within each island group, but we have no record of these from which to make an estimate until the 1931 census, about which McArthur has considerable reservations, especially with regards to Vava'u.[15] For this reason only broad changes can be discussed.

Compared with the overall annual rate of population increase from 1931 to 1956 (3.1 percent), Tongatapu increased at the rate of 6.1, 'Eua, due to Niuafo'ou resettlement, at 18.1, Ha'apai 2.2, Vava'u 2.5 and Niuatoputapu 2.4. Clearly, there was a considerable movement to Tongatapu, the greatest increases occurring in and around Nuku'alofa, in the centre, the east and the south-centre. Ha'apai was the greatest area of out-movement, with only Ha'ano, Pangai-Hihifo and the two small islands of Mango and Fonoifua having increases in excess of the national average. Vava'u was also an area of out-movement, but this was not as marked as for Ha'apai. Within the Vava'u group, the growth rate in many of the offshore islands was low and one lost population. Most villages in 'Uta Vava'u approximated the national increase, and there was a significant increase in the higher northern and western parts of 'Uta Vava'u. Neiafu's slow growth (2.1 percent) can probably be accounted for by its commercial decline since World War II, and the number of school children seeking education in Tongatapu. (41 percent of all Vava'u migrants in Nuku'alofa in 1956 were from Neiafu.)

Population Changes, 1956–66

Between 1956 and 1966 Tonga's population grew by 3.6 percent per annum; its composition became even more youthful (median age: 16.6 to 15.9); more male dominant (with the sex ratio changing from 103.5 to 105.9, for Tongans only, and an excess of males in all age groups under 60); and more Tongan (97.04 percent to 98.5 percent).

The population of all island groups increased, but with the accelerated movement of population, the rates of growth differed widely: from 'Eua 7.6 and Tongatapu 5.3 to Niuatoputapu 1.1, Vava'u 0.8, and Ha'apai 0.6 percent per annum.[16] The overall population density for

[15] McArthur (1956): 210, 214; (1967): 84. Maude (1965): 68-71, and Walsh (1964): 225-228 show details of population changes by village, 1931-56.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 35]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

2

Enumeration Districts and Percentages Born In and Outside Districts (Tongans only)

Based on figures derived from the 1956 and 1966 censuses.

Enumeration District		% born in district	% born outside district
Tongatapu	1956	78.6	21.4
	1966	78.2	21.8
Ha'apai	1956	84.9	15.1
	1966	86.3	13.7
Vava'u	1956	81.6	18.4
	1966	87.1	12.9
'Eua	1956	48.1	51.9
	1966	46.8	53.2

each group for 1966 is shown below, with 1956 figures in parentheses: Tongatapu 480 (313); Ha'apai 523 (498); Vava'u 304 (279); Niuatoputapu 191 (172); and 'Eua 100 (57). Niuafo'ou, resettled during this period, had a population of 599 in 1966, and Tofua also now had a permanent population of 123. Settlements expanded, and with no new ones founded, *average* village sizes increased in the three main groups. Tofua and the three main towns excepted, Tongatapu villages now averaged 529 (362), Ha'apai villages 346 (309), and Vava'u villages 283 (275). Outside Tongatapu, Leimatu'a in Vava'u remained the only village with over a thousand people; but in Tongatapu the number of such villages nearly doubled, from four to nine.

Table 2 shows the changed percentage of populations living in the islands of their birth in 1956 and 1966, and Table 3 shows where

3

Birthplaces and Enumeration Districts (Tongans only)

Based on figures derived from the 1956 and 1966 censuses.

		District of Enumeration (percentages)			
		Tongatapu	Ha'apai	Vava'u	Eua
Tongatapu	1956	90.0	3.8	4.7	1.1
	1966	92.9	2.2	2.3	2.0
Ha'apai	1956	24.1	69.5	5.5	0.7
	1966	32.3	62.0	3.9	1.4
Vava'u	1956	16.5	2.6	80.1	0.4
	1966	24.9	2.9	70.2	1.3
'Eua	1956	18.0	2.1	1.4	78.4
	1966	20.0	1.7	1.3	75.3

people born in the main groups were living in these years. The less important islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafo'ou are not shown. These tables suggest marked differences in the stability of population, ranging from Tongatapu, where 93 percent of the population born there were still residents in 1966, to Ha'apai, where the figure was 62 percent;

[16] Figure 2 shows the changing growth rates by islands in the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups, and figure 3 shows similar changes by village in Tongatapu.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

and a sharp deterioration in stability between 1956 and 1966, especially with regards to Vava'u and the overall pace of migration to Tongatapu. Table 3 also helps to place the respective migrations to Tongatapu and 'Eua in better perspective. Although migrants from all islands had increased in both islands, the *various* attractions of Tongatapu were clearly more important than 'Eua's one attraction—land, even, apparently, for those born in 'Eua of which a fifth were resident in Tongatapu in 1966. The table also shows a drop in the percentage of Tongatapu-born residing in Ha'apai and Vava'u. Most people born in Tongatapu and residing in these islands are government and church officials, women married to local men or children born in Tongatapu of Ha'apai and Vava'u parents. The percentage loss is likely to involve these last two groups. With one foot, so to speak, already in Tongatapu some decided to remain or return there.

A comparison of the population structures of Ha'apai, Vava'u with the migrant populations from these islands residing in Tongatapu in 1966 is provided by Figure 1. Both Vava'u and Ha'apai were under-represented in the secondary school and working age groups; both were over-represented in the very young and older age groups; and both had a lower proportion of males than the Tongan average (sex ratio Ha'apai 98.5; Vava'u 102.5). Conversely, the migrant populations from these groups living in Tongatapu in 1966 had a marked excess of males (Sex ratio Ha'apai 107.5; Vava'u 115.6) and a heavy weighting in the secondary school and working age groups. Between 1956 and 1966, the number of Vava'u-born in Tongatapu increased by 104 percent and the number of Ha'apai-born by 65 percent, and the proportion of these migrant populations in the school age group had decreased, from 33 to 28 percent for Vava'u and 28 to 27 percent for Ha'apai.

The areas most affected by out-movement, therefore, continued to be the many islands of Ha'apai and, more significantly, Vava'u. In Ha'apai four villages lost population, while all others increased at rates less than the national average. In Vava'u a further five off-shore islands lost population, the growth noted earlier in north and west 'Uta Vava'u was not sustained, a third of the villages in Vava'u lost population, and only two increased at a rate equal to the national average.

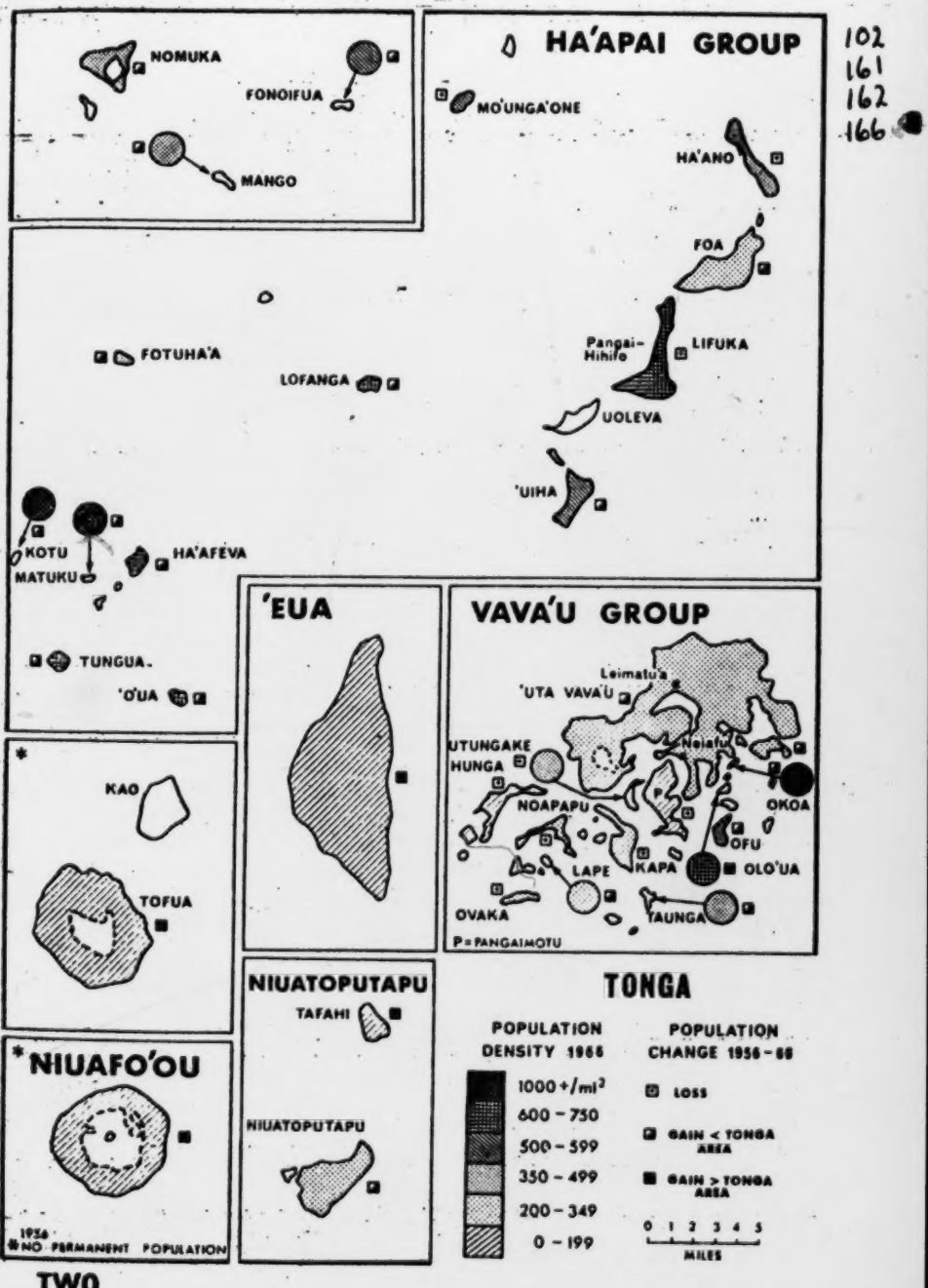
The areas of Tonga most affected by in-movement were Niuafo'ou; 'Eua, where land availability and its proximity to the markets of Tongatapu now counterbalanced some of its earlier limitations; and Tongatapu itself. The three areas in Tongatapu still most affected were: the eastern district with the lowest population density; the east-central district close to residential secondary schools, where certain nobles have made land available and where there is a tradition of in-movement from Ha'apai; and Nuku'alofa and its environs.

This last mentioned movement, to Nuku'alofa has special significance, for it introduces a new element, urbanisation, into the history of Tongan

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 38]

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

102
161
162
166



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42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

population movement and the rapidity and extent of its growth since 1956 are likely to have important consequences which will bear heavily on traditional political, social and economic customs and practices throughout the kingdom. Until the mid-1950s, population movement was more especially to rural Tongatapu rather than to Nuku'alofa. Thus during this period (1931-56) Nuku'alofa's annual growth rate (5.2 percent) was less than that of rural Tongatapu (6.3 percent), but since then the growth rate of Nuku'alofa (7.4 percent) has exceeded that of rural Tongatapu (5.3 percent). The most urban part of the town, Kolofo'ou, grew at an even faster rate (8.6 percent) while nearby Havelu Loto, the centre of the only sizeable industry on the island,[17] grew at the fantastic annual rate of 35.7 percent between 1956 and 1966. Where village growth exceeded or nearly approximated that of Nuku'alofa, it was either in very small villages, where an influx of a handful of settlers would give apparently spectacular increases, or in settlements to the centre and east of the island for reasons noted above. In 1956 Nuku'alofa contained 29 percent of Tongatapu's population and 16 percent of that of the kingdom; in 1966 these percentages had risen to 33 and 20 respectively.[18] This demonstrates both the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa in terms of total population and the marked tendency for population movement to Tongatapu to be urban-orientated.

Factors *pushing* people out of the outer islands and *pulling* them towards Tongatapu and Nuku'alofa are: the greater opportunities for social mobility in recent years: the changing economic needs of the average Tongan; easier transport between islands; and, more recently, the advertising (over the Tongan radio) of the attractions of Nuku'alofa; overpopulation; land tied up in title disputes and in other ways kept back from distribution; the low price for copra; two hurricanes in the northern islands in 1961 and 1963; and the decimation of the banana by black leaf streak and other diseases in Vava'u. If one single cause can sum up these various and interrelated factors, it is the need for money.[19]

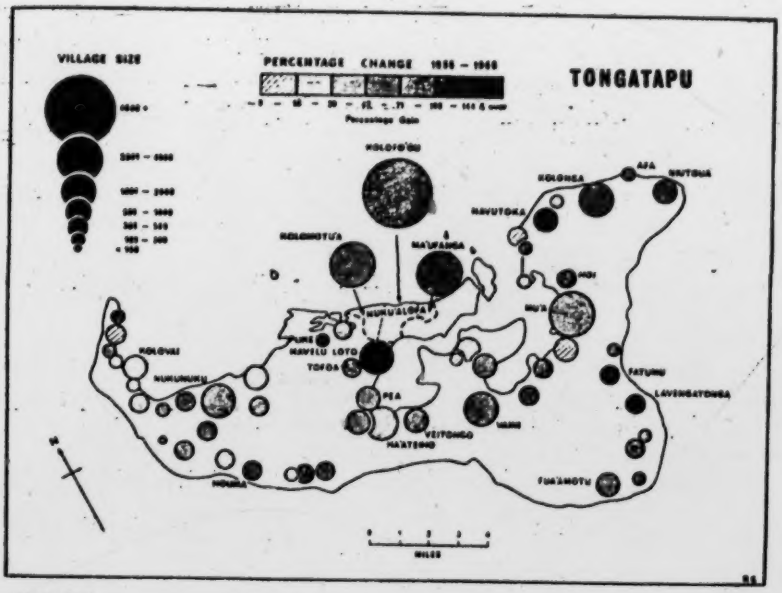
It is not possible to know which islands and villages have recently contributed most to Nuku'alofa's growth, for the 1966 census contained no special statistics on towns. The following remarks, therefore, are based mainly on information extracted from the 1956 census sorting

[17] Quasi-government industries producing coconut by-products and furniture.

[18] Of the other two towns, Neiafu contained 23 percent of the Vava'u population in 1956 and 26 percent in 1966; the respective figures for Pangai-Hihifo were 28 and 25 percent. Neiafu grew at an annual rate of 2.5 percent; Pangai-Hihifo lost population (—0.5 percent p.a.)

[19] Walsh (1964): 179-197 discusses migrants' reasons for moving to Nuku'alofa. Some implications of these factors are discussed below. See 'Mobility and Economic Development.'

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9



161
162
166
361
[102]

THREE

cards and from fieldwork undertaken in 1963-4. They relate to movement from other parts of Tongatapu, and from the northern island groups of Ha'apai and Vava'u which together accounted for almost all the town's migrant population at that date.[20] [127] [101]

Urban Movement—1956

Movement to Nuku'alofa from other parts of Tongatapu was more significant in terms of numbers than movement from the other islands, but it mainly involved young people, especially college girls, and women, many of whom had married into local families. For this reason it is thought to have fewer social and economic implications than migration from outside Tongatapu. There did, however, seem to be a more normal migratory pattern from the more densely populated west of the island. This area was, and still is, the slowest growing, and the proportion of migrants in the school age group was less than elsewhere. The area also has long-standing cultural ties with Nuku'alofa through mutual association with the *tu'i kanokupolu* title which appears likely to have influenced migration in the past and initiated a pattern of chain migration which still continues today.

[20] Much of the following section is based on Walsh (1969a).

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

Another significant area within Tongatapu from which migration to Nuku'alofa occurred was Mu'a, the next largest town on the island. It accounted for over half of the migrants from the mid-eastern district. This gave rise to the hypothesis that there appeared to be some correlation between town size and migration to Nuku'alofa. This was supported in the case of most Tongatapu settlements, in Ha'apai where Pangai-Hihifo accounted for nearly one-third of all migrants from Ha'apai, and Neiafu which accounted for 41 percent of migrants from Vava'u. These figures were in excess of their share of the population of their respective groups. *Migration to Nuku'alofa appeared more* significant from the larger towns, while migration from the smaller settlements appeared more rurally orientated.

Although the larger towns were generally not the most affected by out-movement there is no evidence of significant 'short distance rural-urban' or 'step' migration towards them such as has been noted of migratory movements elsewhere.[21] This is understandable when one considers the limited—and declining—attractions of these towns, the ease of transport to Tongatapu, and the Tongan kinship network which ensures a welcome in almost every major island of the kingdom.[22] The precise destination of the migrant is usually determined by where he has relations on whom he can depend for shelter, food and often land.[23] If he has no relation in Nuku'alofa he will move to relations in rural Tongatapu, and if later he finds work in Nuku'alofa he may choose not to change his residence because of the short distances involved. It is well to recall the limited size of Tonga when making comparisons with migratory movements in larger countries.

Migration from Ha'apai, as expected, was of greater significance. This group is densely settled, it had the lowest growth rate in the kingdom, migration was more male-dominated, and it had the lowest proportion of children in the school age group. Migration from Ha'apai further demonstrated the importance of traditional, and especially kinship ties in forging a migratory chain. An example of this was Ha'ano, on the island of the same name, which had a very high migration rate. Early contact with Seventh Day missionaries had led to the migration of several families to Nuku'alofa. Several of these, taking advantage of better education gained through contact with the mission, became influential citizens. The significance of education in improving status, and the increased obligations towards one's kin consequent on this improved status, was reflected in the number of fellow villagers who followed upon the initial movement to Nuku'alofa. In the larger Ha'apai islands there was a definite correlation between population density and

[21] See McGee (1965): 209.
[22] As, for example, evidenced by gift exchange. See Walsh (1969b): 97.
[23] Walsh (1969b): 95.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

out-movement, but this did not appear to be a factor causing migration to Nuku'alofa as distinct from movement to rural areas in Tongatapu and elsewhere.

Migration from Vava'u to Nuku'alofa in 1956 was not especially significant. Population densities were relatively low; the main island is the third largest (33 square miles) in the group, and is quite fertile. There appeared, in 1956, to be no reason why access to land should be difficult. At that date, two-fifths of the migrants came from Neiafu and were children in the school age group. Educational opportunities therefore appeared to be the main goal attracting migrants, whereas land and employment were more clearly the main causes of migration from Ha'apai. Since 1956 the Vava'u pattern has changed considerably, as we have already seen. The main reasons for this would seem to be: government failure to distribute *'api tukuhau* although land is available, the low level of capital invested in the group, banana crop failures and the low price for copra. However, from the figures available, there is no way of knowing whether this new movement has affected the rate of migration to Nuku'alofa, as distinct from the rural areas of Tongatapu. For this, access to the sorting cards of the 1966 census would be necessary.

The accelerated out-movement from Vava'u in the last decade has added further to the economic imbalance among the islands. Out-movement from the tiny, scattered islands of Ha'apai is long-standing, readily understandable in terms of their resources and in economic terms is probably justifiable. Movement of this magnitude from the much larger and more fertile islands of Vava'u (and especially from 'Uta Vava'u) with relatively low population densities and much economic potential appears to have less economic justification in terms of the overall development of Tonga's resources.[24]

MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Kirk, among others, has stated that "mobility is an integral part of economic and social development".[25] While there can be no doubt that the accelerated movement of population noted in Tonga is a result of economic and social change, such changes do not represent economic development while the rate of movement so far exceeds the rate of economic growth. Parts of rural Tongatapu can still absorb more migrants but the rate of movement cannot be sustained indefinitely without seriously depleting soil fertility, unless there are radical changes in the system of land use and tenure. In the present political climate these appear unlikely. One wonders, also, just how long those at the end

[24]. See Walsh (1967a) (1967b).
[25] Kirk (1958): 16.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

of the migratory chain will observe traditional obligations towards their fellow kinsmen which to date have tempered the full effects of migration. If continued migratory pressures should cause a change of values at this level, it seems highly probably that attitudes towards authority, rank and status in general will also change. This could have serious consequences for government.

The effects of migration on the outer islands should also not be under-rated. Informants stated that boys successful in their schooling did not return from Tongatapu.[26] The outer islands are therefore losing their most talented youth, people who could become what Breese calls 'representatives of decentralising government programs.'[27] The decline of commercial activity has lead to an exodus of a small but vital group of part-Tongans and Europeans, and many Tongan families exercising traditional roles of leadership have also left for Tongatapu.

Even more serious is the rapid growth of Nuku'alofa where, despite government efforts, the number of jobs available continues to decline. Nearly half of the males in the working age group (20-59 years) claimed, during fieldwork in 1963, to be employed in agriculture. It was then estimated that some 31 percent of household heads were without access to land. The 1966 census showed the situation to be more serious: Fifty-eight percent of all Tongan males were without land, and 83 percent in the 15-29 year age group; while 67 percent of Nuku'alofa males had no land, and the figure for the 15-29 year age group could also be expected to be higher. While Nuku'alofa accounted for a higher proportion of those in non-agricultural activities in 1956, women constituted 35 percent of the work force and government provided over a quarter of the jobs. As the percentage of those employed in non-agricultural activities decreased slightly (20 to 19 percent) between 1956 and 1966, it is clear that the overall employment situation had deteriorated. When one realises that 'persons entering the work force in the next ten years will be eight times greater than those retiring' the task of providing further employment is formidable.[28] In such a situation it will be politically disastrous if measures are not designed to create an increasing number of jobs and to encourage people to remain in rural areas.

Hirschman has suggested three alternatives in planning: dispersal, concentration on growing points, and the promotion of backward areas. Both he and Lewis have argued strongly for a concentration on growing points, claiming that 'unbalanced growth . . . sets up pressures,

[26] Walsh (1964): 165.

[27] Breese (1966): 42.

[28] McArthur (1963): Table 3, estimates those seeking non-primary employment would number 13,460 by 1971, assuming no expansion of primary industries since 1956, and 9,030 if such expansion is commensurate with the growth of the work force.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

2. Growers suffer from a lack of incentives. One example of this is the low price they are paid—45 percent of that obtained by the Copra Board.
3. A feeling of malaise and neglect by government in the outer islands. They have received directly only about 10 percent of development moneys, yet government needs to be *seen to be active* in this and other ways.
4. A fatalism which assumes that God and Government will eventually provide, which obviates the need for individual action.
5. The panacea of tourism, the discovery of oil and other ventures that are expected to produce Kuwait-type returns. This obviates the need to turn seriously to agriculture.

In a society where initiative belongs to the chiefs, government is the only significant innovator. As most of the reasons for low production seems to be cultural in origin, cultural solutions are most likely to solve them. This, initially, means a reappraisal of priorities and a reallocation of funds; a close examination of present methods of land use and land tenure; a revised education system which places less stress on academic learning; and the use of radio and other media to 'play-down' the attractions of Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu, for these are often highly exaggerated in the minds of the islands' population. Only direct government intervention can reduce migration to a rate where it more closely approximates economic development.[34] And as all of Tonga is a 'backward area' in relation to the countries with which it has economic connections, direct government intervention from these countries is also necessary to stimulate and maintain development. This, basically, requires better trade and shipping conditions and a higher rate of investment, not an increase in aid which in itself is unlikely to stimulate growth.

CONCLUSION

In summary, population movement is not new in Tonga. While some older patterns, such as dispersed settlement, the full occupance of the smaller islands adjacent to Tongatapu and 'Uta Vava'u, and the siting of settlements in areas where there is a balance of land and sea resources, appear to have gone or been severely modified, other trends suggest the re-establishment of older patterns—the resettlement of some of the volcanic islands, possibly a more widespread use of the interior of islands, and the pre-eminence of Tongatapu and its capital, Nuku'alofa, which in a limited political sense could be considered the modern counterpart of ancient Mu'a with all its attendant powers of central authority. Other patterns continue—population moves among

[34] Cf. Myrdal (1966): Chapters 3, 4.

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

islands as a constant readjustment between real and assumed expectations, and movement is still much influenced by social factors concerned with reciprocal obligations of kin, of chief and commoner, of the village, the church, of factors concerned with social cohesion and unity.

Some new patterns have emerged. The high southern *liku* coast of Tongatapu is attracting population as other areas become more congested. Many villages have grown beyond the expected optimum size for social cohesion, and some have coalesced.[35] It seems likely that new social groupings will cut across the village and possibly undermine kin groupings which, to date, have eased problems often associated with population increase and movement elsewhere. Many of the factors influencing population movement are new, the two most obvious and important being education, which permits social mobility in a society still noted for its rigid stratification, and money, the wherewithal to achieve many new expectations, and increasingly a necessity for even the most isolated islander. Nuku'alofa is no longer a village; it has many of the characteristics of a town, and its rapid growth, its problems and attempted solutions tally with patterns of urbanisation in other parts of the Pacific. Moreover, the pace and direction of movement—to Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu—have prompted government development policies which have further exaggerated the economic imbalance among islands, leaving Vava'u with land tied up in title disputes and Tongatapu overflowing with people who have migrated in anticipation of opportunities which must often exclude the legal occupance of land.

Traditional attitudes to kin, rank and land have helped Tonga to meet the problems associated with population growth and movement with little social distress. This is true of the past, it is still true today, but it is not certain that it will be true of the future.

[35] Spillius (1959) considers the question of optimum village size. There were 13 settlements with over a thousand population in 1966. These accounted for 46.3 percent of the total population.

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KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

of Tongatapu Island 16 miles from the capital, Nuku'alofa. This village was selected for field work because it is one of the most isolated villages in Tongatapu and because it is supposed to have retained the traditional way of Tongan life. The size of the village was also suitable for the study. Although I tried to speak the Tongan language as much as possible for my daily life, the information for the study was collected in English through an interpreter who was nineteen years old.

I The Village

The People

According to the Government census of 1956[5] the population of Nukuleka was 209 (107 males, 102 females). There were 219 (109 males, 110 females) by my enumeration in December 1962. In spite of the rapid population growth of the Kingdom in recent years, the increase of population of this village has been slight. Among these 219 persons, there are 15 temporary residents made up of two families whose heads serve as the stewards for the two different churches in this village. These 15 residents being excluded, 204 is the village population. Of these 37 were born outside the village (male 10, female 25 and children 2). Eight married men have come from elsewhere and two younger single men live at the home of relatives. The 25 women are married to the villagers. The two children were brought here on their mother's second marriage. Against the 37 who moved in, there are 36 who moved out of this village (male 13, female 23). This figure is the number of persons who are brothers and sisters of the present villagers and were born in Nukuleka but now live elsewhere. It is difficult to count the moved-out otherwise. Most of them, especially women, married out, and a few left the village because they received land in another place or because they were adopted by the relatives.

All the inhabitants are Tongan. There are 49 adult men over sixteen years of age who are old enough to be entitled to receive *api tukuhau*, tax allotment, and *api kolo*, town allotment, and at the same time are obliged to pay poll tax according to the Tongan law. The village had been the noble estate held by S. Pangia, but the Government took over direct control in the 1920s.[6] Simultaneously, the Government confiscated extra land from the men who had had larger *api tukuhau* and redistributed them to more villagers. Today, however, only 28 villagers have *api tukuhau* of about 8½ acres each. A further 21 who are entitled to it have not yet received it. The latter borrow the land to cutivate from their relatives or friends. Therefore, all men, without exception, are working the land.

Besides agriculture, the villagers are engaged in fishing. The village location being favourable to fishing, a number of men go out to sea nearly every day. Most of the fish are consumed within the village, but a few

5. Report on the Result of the 1956 Census by Authority, 1956.
6. In the map after Gifford (1929) Nukuleka was a noble estate held by Pangia. A villager told me that the Government had examined the documents of the village in the law court and had taken it lawfully from him, although I could not find the record in the office.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

commoners[9] that may serve for tracing the step of family seems to discourage villagers from striving to continue their households. The inheritance rule for movable property, such as agricultural tools or domestic animals, is not fixed. They do not, anyway, seem to be important items favouring the formation of an extended family.

The Rule of Residence on Marriage

The 36 couples of the village may be classified into four groups according to place of birth.

(a)	Husband born in Nukuleka and wife born in another village	22
(b)	Husband born in another village and wife born in Nukuleka	6
(c)	Both of them were born in Nukuleka	6
(d)	Both of them were born in another village	2

In the majority of marriages either wife or husband have come from the outside. If I may now use the terms, virilocal residence when a wife comes from another village, and uxorilocal residence when a husband comes from other village, the following argument will be in order.

Since the village population is not large, few marriages are locally endogamous. The majority are virilocal; there are only six examples of uxorilocal residence, including three cases in which the husbands had lived in Nukuleka before they married. One of the three cases (21) had succeeded in acquiring *api tukuhau* and had settled in Nukuleka in his youth. The other five husbands, except one who was from Nuku'alofa, came from remote islands; two from Ha'apai, and one each from Niuaatoputapu and Vaca'u. They have *api tukuhau* neither in their home villages nor in Nukuleka. It may be guessed that it is not economically serious for them to leave behind their native place and move to their wife's village. Above all, they seem to prefer to come to Tongatapu rather than to stay in small outer islands.

Two men (classified as group d) from Vava'u had been here before they married women from another village. One, whose mother was born in this village, came here in 1943 to stay with his mother's brother and a few years later he could receive *api tukuhau* from his mother's father. The other, whose father was native to this village, came here with his parents in his childhood. Being still young and having not received *api tukuhau* yet, he cultivates his step-mother's land. Those two marriages may well be classified as virilocal. Although virilocal residence is most common, uxorilocal residence is also permissible. Whether the husband has or is likely to acquire *api tukuhau* or not seems to be important in determining the residence for a couple. In spite of the land system prescribed by the law, a large number of men have, nowadays, difficulty in getting *api tukuhau*. A man who acquired it in some way or other would not agree to leave his village upon marriage.[10]

9. At least Leka has a family name. There has been a growing habit that children going to school use a joint name of their personal and father's name. The father's name in this case is used as if it were the family name. See Koch 1965: 91.
10. Aoyagi 1964: 134 148.

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

Regarding 24 instances of virilocal marriage the following table shows the place from where the wife came.

TABLE 5 — WIFE'S NATIVE PLACE

Tongatapu	—	—	18	Fua'amotu	—	—	2
Talafo'ou	—	—	4	Ha'apai	—	—	2
Mu'a	—	—	4	Nakolo	—	—	1
Vava'u	—	—	4	Tofoa	—	—	1
Nuku'alofa	—	—	2	Ha'alalo	—	—	1
Folaha	—	—	2	Houma	—	—	1

Eight wives came from very near villages, Talafo'ou and Mu'a. For the villagers love seems to be a natural and strong motivation for marriage. As if to testify this, many wives are chosen from neighbouring areas. There are chances for young men to fall in love with girls from other islands who come to visit their relations in this village or vice versa. Generaly speaking, the wives have come from near villages in the marriage of virilocal residence, while in uxorilocal residence, the husbands are from far isolated islands.

III KINSHIP ORGANISATION

Famili and Kainga

E. W. Gifford reported in his Tongan Society that "there exist today in Tonga a number of named lineages called *ha'a.*"[11] but, *ha'a* are not known in this village or in other villages where I made enquiries. An old man told me that *ha'a* may be organised in the *eiki*, chief class, but not among the commoners.

Instead of *ha'a*, the term for kin group, *famili* is most commonly and *kainga* is much less commonly used.[12] The word *fa'ahinga* for kin group is seldom used. An informant explained that the original meaning of *fa'ahinga* is 'kind'. Some villagers think that *famili* and *kainga* indicate just the same social kin group, while other do not. The extension of *famili* and *kainga* is variously told as follows.

Man A: *Famili* includes grandparents, parents(including father's brother, mother's sister), father's sister, mother's brother, ego's brothers with their wives and children, sisters with their husbands and children, ego's children and grandchildren. *Famili* means one's near relations and *kainga* one's remote relations. Wife's parents and her siblings are not included even in *kainga*.

Man B: *Famili* members are paternal grandparents, parents (including father's brother in the village), siblings (including father's brother's children), children, grandchildren, and one's own wife. The spouses of siblings and their children are the members of *kainga*. Maternal grandparents who live in another village may be included in *kainga*. This would not change even if they happened to live in ego's village, though he does not know for certain. The parents and siblings of one's wife are also in the *kainga*.

11. Gifford 1929: 29 33.
12. For example, *kae'eiki mo kainga* (often equivalent to ladies and gentlemen or you in public speaking) is still used in daily life.

161 increased by 36.2%, the increase was not uniform throughout
162 the islands. On the contrary, there was an absolute decrease in population on nine islands, and only two islands of more than one square mile in area had an increase in population of more than 20% over the figure for 1956. These are the islands of Tongatapu and 'Eua.

131 'Eua is a large island a few miles to the south-east
133 of Tongatapu. Because of intervening reefs, it can be
[505] reached only by a roundabout passage after a very rough
[313] sea-voyage of about five hours. The island rises in a series of rocky terraces to about 1,000 feet above sea level, with steep valleys that are the major source of timber in Tonga, leaving relatively little land suitable for cultivation. For these reasons, the island is not very attractive
161 for settlement. At the time of the census of 1939, the
162 population of 'Eua was only 480. After a volcanic eruption
166 on the northernmost island of Niuafo'ou in 1946, many of
[731] the people of that island were settled on 'Eua; at the census of 1956, more than 40% of the population of 'Eua over the age of nine had been born on Niuafo'ou. Besides this Niuafo'ou influx, the increase in the population of 'Eua is accounted for largely by migration from other islands,
161 especially by men seeking land. Even so, with an intercensal
162 population increase of 76.2%, the density of population on 'Eua in 1966 was only 100 per square mile, almost the lowest
[133] of any island in Tonga. Moreover, while there is still some

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

161 land available on 'Eua for settlement and cultivation, there
162 is no possibility that the island could support the kind of
133 density found on most of the other islands, owing to the nature of the terrain.

As Table 2 indicates, the burden of intercensal
161 population increase and inter-island migration has fallen
162 mainly on the island of Tongatapu. Tongatapu has 40% of
166 the land area of Tonga and 60% of the population. The
[131] population of the island increased by more than 50% in the
161 ten years between 1956 and 1966. Much of this increase has
162 been concentrated in the urban area of Nuku'alofa, the
368 capital of Tonga. Thus, while the intercensal population increase for Tonga as a whole was 36%, and the increase for the rural areas of Tongatapu was 42%, the increase for the Nuku'alofa urban area was 79%. This includes the one-time village of Haveluloto, now virtually a suburb of Nuku'alofa, which in 1956 had a population of 292 and in 1966 had a population of 1,334.

In summary, there have been two kinds of population
161 flow in Tonga associated with the increase in population.
162 One kind of migration has involved settlement on islands
166 that have land available for cultivation (primarily the island of 'Eua, but also some resettlement on Niuafo'ou beginning in 1958). The second flow has been towards the island of Tongatapu. On the remaining islands, the total number of people has remained relatively constant, but

this is only because there has been considerable migration from these islands. 161 162 166

It would seem, then, that insofar as there has been pressure resulting from increased population, this has been concentrated in the Nuku'alofa area. To that extent, the problems of increased population in Tonga are mainly the problems attendant on rapid urbanization. However, that is not the full story, for the movement to Nuku'alofa is largely related to the landless condition of many of those who have migrated (Walsh 1969). According to the census of 1966, 52% of all adult males (i.e., men aged twenty and over) had no land to their names, whereas two-thirds of the men living in the Nuku'alofa area were landless. Unfortunately, there are no comparable statistics available for 1956, as no question about land ownership was asked in that census. There is no doubt, however, that landlessness is a growing phenomenon, related to rising population. This can be seen , for example, in the figures on land-holding, which shown an inverse relationship between landlessness and and age (see Table 3). 161 368 166 423 162 162 423 [561]

The significance of increasing landlessness stems from the fact that Tonga is largely a country of peasant proprietors, of people engaged in agriculture for household consumption and export who work on land that is under the control of a member of the household. In the census of 1966, 70% of all Tongan men between the ages of twenty and 162 423 241

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

Summary

This chapter has presented the background information essential for understanding the national context of local-level processes. It is clear from the materials presented in this chapter that there is considerable diversity among Tongan villages relating to the basic facts of the distribution of the population. It is therefore worth emphasizing that there is a good deal of population movement in Tonga, as we have seen in this chapter and will have reason to note in the chapters that follow, and this tends to mitigate the differentiating effects of the differences in village size and location.

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

The chapter first describes the layout and look of the village, followed by an account of the history of settlement at Motulahi and a brief demographic description of the people resident in the village at the time of my fieldwork. It will be seen that the effects of increasing population and inter-island migration have been marked in Motulahi for more than thirty years and have contributed to the diversity of the present population. Materials presented in this chapter also illustrate something of the possible range of variation in the relationship between a Tongan noble and his people, particularly as this relationship is affected by population pressure and other developments in Tonga over the past few decades.[1]

The Look of the Village

Motulahi is located about six miles from Nuku'alofa. The residential part of the village lies on either side of a mile-long section of the main road running from town towards the eastern end of the island. Immediately to the north is the marshy area that borders the lagoon, while on the other side agricultural allotments run about a mile and a half to the sea (see Map 4). As in all Tongan villages, kolo (the residential part of the village) is distinct from 'uta (the land divided into agricultural allotments). In

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 66]

1 For further description of relations between a noble and his people, see Marcus (1976) and Rogers (1968).

621 Patu himself came to live in Motulahi, it is clear that
622 for some time before that he took a considerable interest
in the village, actively encouraging the growth of the
621 village population. This was done mainly in the traditional
622 chiefly manner, by alloting relatively desirable portions
423 of land to selected individuals who were thereby enabled
425 to support large households and be assured that their
descendants would have access to land (Decktor Korn 1976).
Among the men recruited by Sione Patu in this way were a
famous dancer, a promising young teacher, and an able
[565] carpenter. It must be understood that the noble did not go
about openly offering land to men who were not already 'his'
people, for this would entail naked competition among the
nobles. Yet , if a promising man should marry the daughter
of a Motulahi family, for example, land was readily
available to the new son-in-law. More simply, land could
easily be made available to a relative of the noble,
however distant, even if he was not already from Motulahi.
And land was certainly available to those who came seeking
an allotment, if the noble wished to have them on his
estate.

There was considerable migration from the noble's
621 island of Tungua in Ha'apai to his village of Motulahi in
622 Tongatapu. This movement, in particular, reflects Sione
166 Patu's policies. I was told that in the 'thirties and
'forties he had told his people in Tungua that he had

621 land a-plenty to give out in Tongatapu, whereas the growth
622 of population was rapidly reducing the amount of land that
166 would be available in the future for new allotments in
161 Tungua. And, indeed, today there is a severe shortage of
162 land on Tungua, as there is on other islands in Ha'apai.
According to the census of 1966, the island of Tungua had a population of 444 with a land area of less than three-
161 quarters of a square mile. The following is a report on
162 the land-holding situation on Tungua in January 1970,
423 written by a social anthropologist who conducted fieldwork on Tungua in 1969-70:

> There are 90 bush allotments . . . on the island covering an area of some 240½ acres. They range in size from 1¼ to 8¼, only one being this last area . . . The average mean size is 2.6 acres . . . over one half are three acres or less. Preliminary figures on landholding reveal that there are 14 out of 57 (or 24.3%) households without registered land (that is, without legal title to land and therefore no security of tenure); in addition to the 14 heads of household without such title there are 33 sons over 18 in the same situation (Garth Rogers, personal communication).

621 In encouraging his people to move to Tongatapu, Sione
622 Fatu also pointed out that with increasing modernization
166 and especially the drive for education, Tongatapu would inevitably become the center for development and that people would be well-advised to move to the main island ahead of
[873] the waves of migration that were bound to occur. Sione
[658] Fatu's foresight regarding national trends is also reflected
[425] in the fact that in the mid-'forties he made available about

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 250 acres of his estate at Motulahi to provide a new site
622 for Tonga College, the government boarding school of
166 secondary education. He was recompensed with a 200-acre
873 estate from government land at Vaikeli, originally part of
658 a government estate immediately to the west of his own,
425 while the people of Motulahi gained a major educational institution at their doorstep. (This has proved to be an additional advantage and source of attraction for residence at Motulahi.) Thus, among the 145 households in the village in 1970, we find 44 households headed by those who
871 moved to Motulahi in the 'thirties and 'forties. It was explained to me that the families had come to Tongatapu so that the children could attend the better schools on the main island, and that they had settled at Motulahi because the noble had made it easy for them to do so.

The impact of Sione Fatu's encouraging settlement at Motulahi a generation ago (i.e., around 1940) is apparent when we distinguish among adults living in Motulahi in 1970 according to the criterion of whether they were raised in Motulahi or were already adult when they first came to live in the village. (In speaking of adults, my reference is to persons aged twenty and over.) Table 4 shows that over 70% of those who were no longer children when Sione Fatu's policies came into effect grew up somewhere other than Motulahi and were already adult when they first came to live in the village. In contrast to these people, more

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 801

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 4

Initial Residence in Motulahi of Resident Adults, by Age in 1970

	20-29 (N=176) %	30-49 (N=223) %	50+ (N=95) %	Total (N=494) %
Local-born or immigrant before age 20	66	53	28	53
Immigrant as an adult (age 20+)	34	47	72	47
	100	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

Note: Those born in Motulahi and those who came as children are not distinguished, since in many cases there is a temporary shift of residence at childbirth, and thus children may be born somewhere other than where they are raised. (See Chapter IV).

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 than half of those who were children at that time grew up
622
166 in Motulahi.

621 The influence of Sione Fatu on the pattern of
622 settlement at Motulahi is also evident when we distinguish
166 among the heads of household in 1970 on the basis of how
592 it is that they first came to be living in the village.
591 (I speak of when a person 'first came to live' in a village because people seldom maintain unbroken residence in the same village.) Table 5 provides a breakdown of the male and female heads of household according to this criterion.[3] The following are mutually exclusive categories that distinguish how it is that people first came to be living in Motulahi: descended from families that were already in the village before 1900; kin to the noble, who first came to Motulahi (or are descended from people who first came) in Sione Fatu's time (i.e., 1900 to 1962); people who are not kin to the noble, who first came to Motulahi (or are descended from people who first came) in Sione Fatu's time; first came after 1960; married in (i.e., married someone already living in Motulahi or who was already associated with Motulahi through kinship with the noble).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE]

3 A woman is the female head of the household in which her husband is the head. In effect, they are joint heads, but usually the man is spoken of as being the head because allotment registration is in his name and because his sphere of authority includes the formal representation of the household in the outside world. If there is no husband present, however, the woman is spoken of and may also legally be the head of the household.

TABLE 5

Circumstances of Initial Residence in Motulahi of Heads of Households in 1970

Female Head of the Household	Male Head of the Household						Total Households
	Before 1900	1900 to 1962 Noble's kin	1900 to 1962 Not kin	Since 1960	Married in	No male head	
Descended from families established in Motulahi before 1900	-	-	12	-	11	1	24
Kin to the noble - family first came in Sione Fatu's time (i.e., 1900-1962)	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Not kin to the noble - family first came in Sione Fatu's time	6	-	15	-	3	1	25
First came after 1960	-	-	-	8	-	2	10
Married in to Motulahi	44	8	27	-	-	-	79
No female head of h/hold	1	1	3	-	-	-	5
Total Households	51	9	57	8	16	4	145

Source: fieldwork survey.

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46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 Seventy-eight of the households in Motulahi in 1970 (54%)
627 had a male and/or female head who had first come to
166 Motulahi in Sione Fatu's time. There were only ten house-
591 holds in 1970 in which neither the male nor the female
592 head of the household had lived in Motulahi in the period
that Sione Fatu was the noble (and of these households,
four were established by church ministers or teachers,
appointed to work in Motulahi by outside agencies).

622 Sione Fatu is generally regarded as having been not
only a far-seeing progressive but also benevolent in his
659 policies. A number of people told me of his benevolence
423 with specific reference to the following circumstances:
Motulahi was surveyed in 1961 (part of the first official
Cadastral Survey ever undertaken in Tonga) and allotment
boundaries were defined. Until the survey, not many people
in Tonga had registered their residential and agricultural
622 allotments. Sione Fatu, however, encouraged people to
659 register their allotments as soon as they had been surveyed.
423 This was perceived by the people who told me of it as a
[565] generous concern for their security, for once an allotment
[425] is registered it is beyond the power of the noble to
[428] withdraw it from the allotment-holder or withold it from
[425] his rightful heirs. His encouraging registration is
regarded as doubly generous because, when he had allotted
land in earlier years, he had in many cases given men
considerably more than the statutory agricultural allotment

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

621 shortage of land.

423 The conclusion to be drawn from this is that contemporary practices in Motulahi in relation to the organization of access to land may be indicative of what will be seen elsewhere on Tongatapu as the shortage of land becomes more widespread. On the other hand, the Motulahi experience of peaceable adaptation to land shortage does not necessarily indicate what may eventually happen once there is acute land shortage throughout the country and nowhere to drain off the excess population.

The Demography of Motulahi

128 Before proceeding to examination of contemporary social organization in Motulahi, something should be said about the demographic characteristics of the population. Immediately, one confronts the fact of population movement and the difficulty of making a summary statement of who the 125 people of any village in Tonga are. My demographic survey of the village was part of a detailed house-to-house survey conducted intermitently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing at intervals until about the middle of 125 May. By the end of that period, some of the people who 166 were enumerated earlier in the survey were no longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had already surveyed the household in which they

125 lived. Demographers commonly deal with these fluctuations
166 by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating the population present at that date. This suits their purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary solution to the problem of ethnographic description (Colson
121 1954, Carroll 1975). In considering how to deal with this,
621 I realized that population flux is not a difficulty that gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of
[128] proper description of local organization in Tonga. This view is expanded and explored in the next chapter, in the
621 analysis of household composition. For the present purpose
125 of presenting a demographic profile of the village, I am taking the population of Motulahi to be the sum of the people who were enumerated in the course of the house-to-house survey. People not living in a household at the time it was surveyed are not included here; to include them would inflate the population total and distort the age-sex proportions, since young adults are more mobile residentially than other sectors of the population.

162 According to this enumeration, Motulahi had 1,192
621 inhabitants in the early part of 1970, of whom 617 were male and 575 were female (see Table 7). A percentage breakdown of village population according to ten-year age categories indicates that more than half the population

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 92]

162 was under the age of twenty and over 90% were under the
621 age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census [166] of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons [871] in the 10-19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

The distinction between persons under or above the age of twenty is significant because in speaking of Tongan adults I refer to persons aged twenty and over. The official report on the national census speaks of adults as [871] persons aged fifteen and over (Fiefia 1968). This is related to the fact that education is not compulsory beyond the age of fourteen. However, my view is that it is not productive to classify the fifteen-to-nineteen year-old age-category as adult. The reason for this is that there are certain important differences between 15-19 year-olds and 20-24 year-olds, that are apparent not only at the 162 national level but also in Motulahi (see Table 8). Those 621 in the younger age-category, generally, are still students, 877 even though schooling is not compulsory for them, whereas few persons over the age of nineteen are still in school. [873] (Persons still in school after the age of nineteen are [874] those who have stayed on in high school to prepare for

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 94]

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

their 'marital'-residential status (i.e., whether they are living in a couple relationship).

The difficulty of describing marital status is simple compared to the problem of describing residential movement. Tongans are as likely as not to have been raised somewhere other than the village where they are born, are likely to have moved back and forth among different villages, and may speak of themselves as not really being of or from the village in which they have maintained residence for many years. It is therefore difficult to select ethnographically meaningful categories for differentiating among the people of Motulahi with regard to their places of origin or length of residence in Motulahi. As we see in the next chapter, the elements that make such enumeration difficult are best understood in the context of the organization of household composition.

Summary

Materials presented in this chapter show that the observed configuration of any one village reflects its geographical position and the influence of local personalities as well as the effects of supralocal and historical processes. This local configuration, in turn, constitutes much of the setting within which people who live in the village must operate. Elements of local organization and the local-level adaptations of the people of Motulahi are

591 not the case when a woman is living with her husband's
592 people. On the other hand, precisely because of the
596 greater interaction, the wife is constantly exposed to the critical gaze of her husband's relatives, and especially his mother. This is mitigated to some extent if they establish their own household rather than living in the household of his parents, but a young wife is still likely to feel very lonely if she does not have kin of her own nearby.

Most new households are established by local men; that is, the man and wife set up household in the husband's village. Less than 12 percent of the male heads of household in 1970 came to Motulahi through marriage to a local woman (see Table 5), and in 75 percent of the households in Motulahi the male head of the household had lived in the village for some time before he was married. A man generally has a better chance of being allocated an allotment where he is known and where his kin can exert pressure and assist him in acquiring land in his own name. At the very least, if they are not successful in getting him his own residential allotment, he might set up his own household on his parent's land. More important, a man's kin are more likely than his wife's kin to provide him with access to the agricultural resources essential for a household of his own.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

3% (possibly 3.46% in 1966). With one half of the population under sixteen years of age and with 33.99% of both sexes in the reproductive age-group (15–44), there is every possibility that present rates of increase will be maintained if not exceeded in the next intercensal period. On this evidence the total population would be well over 100,000 by 1976, and would double between 1966 and 1986.

The overall density of population on inhabited islands in 1956 was almost 277 persons per square mile or 2.31 acres per person. By 1966 the comparable figure was 376.6 persons per square mile or 1.69 acres per person, an increase in overall density per square mile of nearly 100 persons.[4]

The largest increases took place on the principal island Tongatapu where the intercensal growth amounted to 54%; the smallest increases in overall density occurred in the Ha'apai group, already the most heavily populated islands in Tonga, where the density rose from 480 persons per square mile in 1956 to 523 in 1966. In 1966 the most densely populated of the Ha'apai islands was Matuku where 138 people in 29 "single family units" in 19 households were living on 82 acres (1,062 per square mile).

* * *

The 1966 Report gives warning that overcrowding and shortage of housing are becoming acute throughout Tonga (p. 35) but the figures themselves suggest that this rise is a corollary of population movement to Tongatapu. The figures do suggest that the overall average size of Tongan households has risen from 6.53 persons to 6.7 persons in the intercensal period.[5] But average household size in each of Tonga's three main towns has fallen; Nuku'alofa from 8.04 to 7.96; Pangai, Ha'apai from 8.39 to 7.55; Neiafu, Vava'u from 7.6 to 7.42. On the other hand, in 1956 there were six towns and villages with an average of more than eight, and only one with over nine persons per dwelling whereas in 1966 there were nine villages with eight, and four with an average of over nine persons per dwelling. Most of these were in rural areas of Tongatapu which suggests that rising pressure on housing was more acute in rural Tongatapu than in Tonga overall.

Tongan households are defined in the census first as consumption units, later as sleeping units. Within an *api* 'compound' a sleeping unit and a consumption unit rarely correspond. Family units are defined as spouse(s) and child(ren). Of the 10,942 Tongan households recorded for the entire Kingdom in 1966, 16% or 1,729 contained more than one family unit; 1,454 or 13.2% contained two family units; 244 or 2.2% had three family units; 31 or 0.28% had four or more. Tongatapu Island with 61.8% of the

4. Thirty-three out of c. 150 islands are inhabited; the total habited land area in 1966 was less than 15 miles square. Niuafo'ou (13.5 sq. mls.) and Tefua (18.05 sq. mls.), both partially resettled since 1956, have not been included in the assessment of population density, nor have the unhabited islands of Late, Kao, Hunga Ha'apai, Hunga Tonga, 'Ata and Fonualei, all high and fertile but without harbours or anchorages.

5. Comparable figures of mean household size in other island groups are, Cook Island 1966, 6.5; Western Samoa 1961, 5.7; Fakaofo, Tokelau Islands 1968, 10.4 (Personal Communication, Antony Hooper); Niuafo'ou, northernmost island of Tonga 1967, 6.5.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 0U9 Tonga 0U9

would be more likely to succeed on government than on noble estates, and only, of course, in areas where land is available for lease. There is evidence in Tongatapu that some banana-producing cooperatives have achieved success by using vacant land and employing tractors.

A third alternative for landless men is migration, and the 1966 census shows in a number of ways that ". . . the Tongan population has become mobile, both internally and externally . . . the drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai especially and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (p. 11).

Tonga now has thirteen towns and villages each with a population of more than one thousand people; nine of these are situated on Tongatapu island whereas the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups contain only two each. These thirteen towns and villages showed a combined percentage increase of population of 48.3% during the intercensal period, although the two Ha'apai towns combined actually lost population over this period. Population growth in the nine Tongatapu towns and villages ranged from 34.0% to nearly 357.0% (Haveluloto) for the decade from 1956; Nuku'alofa and suburbs (historically three villages) increased over the same period by 6,483 persons (by 70.0%) to a total of 15,685.

Nearly 32.0% of all persons over sixteen living in Tongatapu on the night of the census were born in other parts of the Kingdom, with 14.4% deriving from Ha'apai and 11.4% from the Vava'u group. Some of these people living away from the place where they were born were undoubtedly students and temporary residents from the northern islands, but differential rates of increase for Tongatapu (53.2% during the intercensal period) and the Ha'apai group (6.78%) suggest that there is a higher rate of internal migration than could be explained simply by students and visitors. Walsh has described the process whereby temporary immigrants become permanent residents.[12]

Some imbalance between the sexes is apparent in Tongatapu's excess of males "born elsewhere" over females "born elsewhere". Supporting the argument that many of Tongatapu's immigrants derive from Ha'apai, is the evidence that there is a shortage of males in that group; there are only 491 males per 1,000 persons in the Ha'apai district—the only deviation from the national pattern of male predominance.

* * *

The average age for marriage has increased since 1956 when over 3.0% of all men and over 9.0% of all women were married in the fifteen to nineteen age-group. The 1966 returns indicate that only about 1.0% of the total male population and just over 7.0% of the total female population in this cohort were married. It is possible that some of the reasons for this delay in marriage are the shortage of land in rural areas, the excess of men in urban areas, the increasing cost of traditional weddings, the shortage of and desire for wage employment and money, and the enormous advantage post-primary education gives to obtaining wage employment.

12. Walsh 1967:14.

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

building small dwellings near the main dwelling for siblings of the opposite sex, parents, and married members of the same family.

The need to step up the rate of industrialisation is shown by the beginning of land shortages, the increase of adult "landless" men, the indirect evidence of under-employment throughout the Kingdom, and the movement of increasing numbers of rural dwellers to urban centres, especially to Nuku'alofa.

The most spectacular development in Tonga since 1956 has been the acquisition of a national shipping fleet. Before that date, two motorized sailing ketches were the principal means of inter-island transport; all fuel was imported from Fiji in 44-gallon drums. The progressive, far-sighted administration ordered the first vessel, *Aoniu* (514 tons), in 1956; it was delivered in 1958 and by 1960 it had made a gross earning of £T68,120 with net profits of £T13,970 after providing for depreciation and other running expenses. The Tongan fleet now comprises seven vessels, with the largest, *Niuvakai* (1,800 tons), plying between Sydney Australia, Japan, Fiji, and Tonga. Although great savings are now made each year on freights to and from the Kingdom, the shipping line has, however, done little to relieve the need for more jobs in Tonga. Raw materials could be transported to the Kingdom by these ships to provide employment in selected (possibly labour intensive) industries. If European and Australasian governments do not take the initiative by offering experts for this purpose it is likely that trade and aid may be forthcoming from Asia, especially from Japan.

Tonga has also shown how a state-owned industry can provide a large degree of independence for a small nation. The Tonga Copra Board and allied government agencies started with improving the quality of export copra, and now, with the aid of British finance, have launched a highly successful Coconut Replanting Scheme throughout the land. Government industries have already been discussed. Philatelic and numismatic sales are still being fully exploited by the Minister of Finance.

Nevertheless, economic growth, although spectacular for a country using mainly its own limited resources, is not fast enough to cater for the demand for wage labour. While the population continues to increase at the present rate, the need for the expansion of wage labour, either on the land or in industries, will persist.

Finally, economic expansion and industrialization is not by itself a panacea for the pressures and problems besetting this tiny island Kingdom; techniques will need to be changed, social privileges equalised, and human resources marshalled and developed, especially in the fields of education and vocational training. Education for white collar jobs carries greater prestige, but efficient production of export crops may be more lucrative for the individual.

At present, compulsory primary schooling ends at standard IV, a class reached by many children at the age of ten. Intermediate and secondary schooling is not compulsory, so if primary school pupils do not gain a place in one of the few secondary schools they repeat the last year in the primary school once or even twice. Because of this an enormous percentage

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

mination. One alternative structural domain in which much social activity occurs is the Tongan village community. The other is the dispersed bilateral kin set.

Every Tongan adult has both a *fonua*, or island/village identity, and a *famili/kāinga*, or kin set identity. Because of the high geographical mobility of individuals in modern Tonga, one's village and kin set identifications may overlap, but are rarely co-terminal. Particularly in Ha'apai where land shortage and population pressure result in a great deal of movement, it is uncommon to find in any village community complete sibling groups related through two generations in residence.

The dispersion of kinsmen outside the boundaries of village communities defines for every adult individual a kin set[4] among which interactions are predominantly in terms of economic exchanges and support, but are also structured through traditional principles of rank in the *kāinga* (the total category of one's recognized kinsmen). Modifying Gray and Gulliver, I call this dispersed set of kinsmen a family estate which is a "complex of processes, involving on the one hand natural resources and products derived from them and on the other hand the family groups which exploit them ..." (Gray and Gulliver, 1964, p. 5). The Tongan kin set as family estate is composed of kinsmen who actively maintain economic transactions and who mutually have an interest in and are responsible for each other's economic position. The fact of dispersion and diverse economic activity makes contacts between members of a family estate periodic and by the medium of mail and messages rather than face-to-face.

Mitchell has made the important point that any model of kindreds or kin networks must take into account a temporal variable relating to the stage of the individual's life cycle (Mitchell, 1963, pp. 350-351). For Tonga, the temporal variable relating to the appearance of family estates is the stages of fission and replacement in Fortes' scheme for the developmental cycle of domestic groups (Fortes, 1958, p. 5). That is, the analytical temporal focus of the family estate is the period of dispersion of siblings from a single domestic group and the setting up

[4] I avoid the use of the term kin group or kin network, and instead use the term kin set which indicates that inclusion of individuals in a family estate from the total category of one's recognized kinsmen or *kāinga* involves principles of selection determined by a combination of an individual's economic activity and kinship position. My use of kin set is approximately the same as Gulliver's: he uses the term to denote a category that "comprises those people against whom ego can and does exercise claims, with whom he co-operates, and to whom he acknowledges obligations" (Gulliver, 1971, p. 18).

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

by the Royal Family in the absence of direct heirs (Maude, 1965, p. 56). The power of the nobles within the surviving traditional class structure was limited in that they no longer have legally recognized rights to the services or goods of their people, nor any judicial functions outside the state legal system, nor any control over the amount of rent and tenure of land, legally registered by commoners who live on their *tofi'a*. Essentially, nobles within the traditional structure have been reduced to landlords with very limited powers even in this status. However, what makes the role of the noble important in the traditional class system is the fact of their considerable moral and cultural status on the village level, backed by the very real power that they hold in the parallel political structure of modern government. The Town Officer of a village, often a commoner, still shows considerable respect to his noble, and at least in 'Uiha accedes to his wishes. In sum, the traditional class structure of Tonga survives, but in an attenuated form with sharply defined boundaries between the Royal Family and the small number of noble titles on one hand, and the rest of the population including commoners, nominal chiefs, and *matāpules* on the other.

4. Tupou I instituted a unique individualistic system of land tenure (see Nayacakalou, 1959, pp. 93-114; Maude, 1965, pp. 97-103). Every Tongan male over sixteen years of age was to receive on application two pieces of land: a tax allotment *('api tukuhau)* of 8¼ acres and a town allotment *('api kolo)* on which to build a house. For his tax allotment an individual was to pay an annual rent of eight shillings to his noble if the land was on an hereditary estate, or to the Government, if the land was on a government estate. Also, by law, the use of land was to be inherited by the eldest son of the previous deceased holder. This system of land tenure exists to the present day, and is an important factor in stimulating the dispersion of Tongan kin groups from their native villages and islands. The complexities of the operation of this system in the face of increasing population need not be considered here. Formerly, nobles had the power to distribute unused land on their *tofi'a*, but since there is so little land left undistributed in Tonga, this surviving noble prerogative has lost much of its effect.

What has happened to patterns of rank in the kinship system, the class system, and the descent system in the face of these changes can best be approached by asking what has happened to the *ha'a* in modern Tonga. As Aoyagi has shown, the concept of *ha'a* as a group in any of its previous uses has virtually no meaning for commoners on the village

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

III. THE TONGAN FAMILY ESTATE

The dispersion of kin groups from native villages and islands in modern Tonga and the consequent formation of family estates are largely a result of the growth of population, the scarcity of undistributed land, and the individualistic land tenure system. There were no complete sets of adult siblings resident in 'Uiha; every adult individual had siblings and other members of his *kāinga* who were in long-term residence elsewhere.[5] It is difficult to distinguish permanent from temporary long-term absences, since many individuals who plan only temporary migration remain absent permanently. In addition, degree of dispersion of kin groups varies considerably from *kāinga* to *kāinga* in Tonga, and for any particular village community, the relative degree of dispersion of a village's component kin groups has a great deal to do with the presence of 'dominant' or economically powerful commoner families within a particular locality. Unless adult male siblings with families of procreation can find some local employment outside agriculture such

[5] The alternative models of social structure developed here are intended to be society-wide in scope. However, their range of application may appear to be more limited since my field data are biased by the fact that I worked in an area of Tonga, Ha'apai, where the rate of migration (and thus the degree of kin dispersion) is highest. Yet, I feel that such a bias does not in fact detract from the societal significance of my interpretive scheme, since the geographical mobility of Tongans in general is well-established by other writers (see especially, MacArthur, 1967; and Walsh, 1970), and from the few contacts that I had with kin groups in other parts of Tonga, I was impressed with the similar, mobile and dispersed nature of kin sets. The examples presented here, then, are not unrepresentative of what is happening in other Tongan communities. The following table, abstracted from the *1966 Census*, provides one specific useful, but crude index of population dispersion. No account of Tongans overseas is available (*1966 Census*, Table 10A, pp. 63-68):

		Tongatapu M/F	Ha'apai M/F	Vava'u M/F	Other Islands M/F
Tongatap	M	18,719	389	428	604
	F	17,414	452	466	405
Vava'u	M	2,212	225	5,088	158
	F	1,902	251	5,730	157
Ha'apai	M	2,455	4,513	280	222
	F	2,276	4,577	299	92
Other Islands	M	775	54	117	2,003
	F	853	74	125	1,748

Table a: Tongan Population Classified by District of Birth In Conjunction With District of Census Enumeration and By Sex (Totals Cover All Ages).

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

as fishing or storekeeping, they must migrate, either alone or with their families.

Reasons for leaving one's native village are varied: Females leave when they marry out, enter some form of higher education such as teacher's training, or look after children who are in school either in Nuku'alofa or in one of the two other major towns of Tonga, Pangai in Ha'apai and Neiafu in Vava'u. Males leave to look for vacant or undistributed land in some other part of Tonga; to look for potential spouses; for education; for employment outside agriculture as government clerks, police, teachers, and *faifekaus* ('ministers'), or in fishing and shipping; to work abroad as laborers (there is a large Tongan community in New Zealand); or just for *'eva pē*, i.e., living among kinsmen away from home without any specific reason. Every one of the above reasons for leaving often involves several years, if not permanent, periods of absence from native villages. The increased need for cash, the selling of copra being the only way of acquiring money locally, and the desire for the conveniences of modern goods and services are the 'pulls' that complement the 'push' of land pressure which together serve as the stimuli resulting in dispersed family estates, both within Tonga and abroad, as a major feature of modern Tongan social structure.

The kin determinants of the composition of family estates derive from the channels of ranked status positions in the kinship system, defined briefly in the previous section. Anthropologists have been accustomed to specify *mutual* rights and obligations for reciprocal role relationships in kinship systems. However, in the case of Tongan kinship, elaborately defined rankings of reciprocal roles necessitate the lopsided or asymmetrical analysis of relationships in which either rights or obligations are emphasized, but not both. Within the sibling group, older brothers have primarily rights over younger brothers, and sisters have primarily rights over brothers. For extra-familial kin, a set of siblings has rights over mother's kinsmen(especially the mother's brothers and their children) and obligations to father's kinsmen (especially the father's sisters and their children).

In ranked kinship relations, one party has rights and the other has obligations which are culturally specified. The situation in the class system is parallel: nobles have rights vis-a-vis commoners, who in turn have obligations vis-a-vis nobles. This is not to say that individuals holding higher rank or status have no obligations to those with lower status. For example, Tongans emphasize the importance of *'ofa*, 'love'

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

derived from the strategic or non-strategic positions of particular kinsmen. The strategic importance of position is focussed on the distinction between those who can offer cash remittances as opposed to those who can offer remittances in kind, and between those who are situated geographically in or near a modern sector (at home or abroad) and those situated in a traditional sector (the village or island community).

Now one may claim that what has been called a family estate is nothing more than one's universe of recognized kinsmen, divided into a number of categories, and from which an individual can flexibly select, initiate, and terminate relationships that provide particular advantages or fulfill needs. Since kin networks are dispersed and interactions are infrequent and rarely face-to-face (in fact only on occasions such as funerals when large numbers of kinsmen gather), it may appear even more obvious that relationships within the *kāinga* are ephemeral. In contrast to this perspective, I suggest that there is a readily observable corporate quality in the relationships among sets of kinsmen which can be isolated analytically as clearly defined family estates from their *kāinga*, i.e., from categories without easily definable boundaries covering large numbers of people who recognize mutual blood relationships.

It is contrary to traditional anthropological thinking to characterize groups as corporate which do not persist from generation to generation and which are not in effect descent groups, but other studies have convincingly demonstrated the corporate nature of nonunilineal, short-lived kin groups (see, for example, Campbell, 1964, on the Sarakatsani). Likewise, the Tongan family estate has corporate features. The 'corporate cement' is the growing sense of responsibility that a set of kinsmen has for each other's material welfare and individual development as they assist one another in dispersing from native households and 'getting started' in life.

Paradoxically, the Tongan corporate family estate arises precisely because the opportunities for joint participation in a particular activity (agriculture) are limited, and individuals must disperse to find a variety of forms of employment. Through time (the stages of dispersion and replacement in the developmental cycle), a set of kinsmen, focussing on a group of true siblings, provides each other with mutual aid and support in diverse activities. In time, these processes become stabilized in that transactions among the same cooperating, but dispersed kinsmen continue and reoccur (become 'routinized'). This process is similar to the general scheme elucidated by Boissevain: 'non-groups' develop into 'quasi-groups' which may develop into full-fledged groups (Boissevain,

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Annamooka bore the island on this side making in two or three low hummocks. Between eight and nine we anchord in the same spot we left on going to Hapaee but the Discovery was still three or four leagues to leeward and did not get up till three in the afternoon.

The Captain went on shore before and after dinner and the natives to about the number of two hundred assembled on the beach & traded with as much eagerness, if not more so, than if we had not been there before. Their stock appear'd to have been recruited much in our short absence but instead of bread fruit, which was the only article we could purchase on our first arrival, nothing was to be seen now but yams & a few plantanes, which shows the quick succession of the seasons or at least the different Vegetables produc'd at the several times of the year. We found the cold mention'd at Kotoo quite universal here & seems a disorder they are not much acquainted with. These people in the absence of Toobou whom we left at Kotoo seem to be under little subordination, for we could not perceive to day that one man assum'd more authority than another. It appears also that a great many of the principle men and women whom we saw here at first had come from the other isles, as few or none were seen now.

FRIDAY 6th. The wind E and ENE. Fresh breezes with cloudy weather in the forenoon but afterwards clearer and more moderate. Very few Indians came off to the ship but they traded on shore as usual, which brought us a seasonable supply as our Vegetables were almost exhausted (though we had plenty of hogs) on coming in here. In the afternoon a large Canoe came with Feenou, who reported that several Canoes which he was bringing with hogs and other things from Va'vaoo were lost in the late strong winds. We were now too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story but easily overlook'd it from the service he had been of to us before. The truth probably was that he found himself unable to procure the things at Va'vaoo which he expected, or if he did get any and heard at Hapaee which lay in his way back that Poulaho had been with us he might leave them there, as he doubtless knew the merit of procuring them would have fallen to the share of his superior though he had been at the trouble. He was however in that case obligd to frame a story, that it should not appear he had broke his promise to Captn Cook and to procure him a civil reception at his return. He seem'd to be sensible of the error he had committed in assuming the character of the first person in the country, as he not only acknowledg'd

size and its social and economic functions, Nuku'alofa cannot be regarded merely as an overgrown village. The South Pacific Commission, recognising the difficulties in defining the term "urban" in the South Pacific area, proposed three characteristics typical of Pacific urban settlements. A heavier concentration of population, an occupational structure involving a larger proportion in non-agricultural pursuits, and a form of government suited to the needs of the town.[6] Nuku'alofa meets the first two characteristics and, by being the centre of all Tongan administration, must be considered as different from other settlements in Tonga even though it possesses no government peculiar to itself.[7] As the capital of the kingdom it has several functions different from other towns in Tonga. It is the centre of administration, trade, commerce, church activities, education and other social services, the main port and the meeting ground for old and new, Tongan and foreign. Rural migrants form a large part of its population, its growth rate is much greater than almost all other settlements, it is considerably larger than any other town, and its inability to meet the problem of rapid inward migration is beginning to show in ways similar to urban areas outside Tonga where the same processes are at work. This is dramatically portrayed in a recent communique:

> "The prison is full and the court overworked. On the 16th of March more than a hundred young people were involved in violent fighting in the streets of Nuku'alofa. Several boys received cane knife wounds and over thirty are being charged in a special court today."[8]

Thus, while conditions and attitudes appear rural, Nuku'alofa must be classed, by Pacific standards, as an urban settlement.

urban characteristics

The emergence of Nuku'alofa as the future capital of Tonga can be traced from an early association with the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of high chiefs.* Later, during the period of civil wars (1799-1845), the previously dispersed Tongan settlements became nucleated villages for reasons of defence.[9] Subsequently the settlement became the main centre of Wesleyan Christianity and was chosen by the victorious Taufa'ahau (now King George I) as his permanent place of residence. It was from this time that the new village of Kolofo'ou (new town) emerged as the settlement of the king's followers, as distinct from the adjacent older settlement of Nuku'alofa which now assumed the name Kolomotu'a or old town. Ma'ufanga, the third distinct area of

* See glossary for all Tongan words used in text.

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674 and during the same period over 11,000 will join the labour force. Young people at school are already asking for what am I being educated? It is hard to give a truthful answer. Thousands of young people live in and around Nuku'alofa. Many of these young people have left both schools and home. They have exchanged a life of the home and school for a life of the youth group and gang. They live off the land, raiding 'apis, breaking into many homes for food, clothing and money."[21]

369 Other pressures have resulted in diminished respect towards nobles, less formal modes of courtship and changes in dress and diet. But none of these are clear cut urban-rural differences and most of them affect only sections of the population. What is most significant about Nuku'alofa is not that there are differences compared with the countryside, but that these differences are so few. Whether this is because the town is so little urbanised or whether this represents a successful readaption of cherished Tongan values is not yet clear. What is clear is that basic Tongan attitudes and patterns of life remain very little changed in the town context.

the rural migrants

166 No small part of the unlawfulness referred to above can be traced to the large influx of migrants from Tonga's other islands and from the rural villages of Tongatapu (see Fig. 1). This migration is not new but there are very definite signs that, whereas the movement was once primarily towards rural Tongatapu where land was available, movement in the last ten years can more accurately be termed an "urban drift" to Nuku'alofa. The general causes of such movements are well known and need not concern us here. One aspect, however, is of special importance: many of Nuku'alofa's in-migrants are not visiting the town for the first time. Some four-fifths of those interviewed and who were in paid employment in Nuku'alofa had been to secondary schools in Tongatapu. The proportion is not likely to be as high for those not in paid employment but it is certain to remain significant.

591
592 If the migrant is arriving in Nuku'alofa or returning after attending school, he usually gravitates to his relations and frequent-
591 ly he has neither money, land nor employment. He lives with them
592 until he builds a separate home which may well be on their 'api. It
423 is their 'api tukuhau that he uses (see Table III) and it is usually through them that he enquires about the use of another 'api or the registration of one of his own though, if he is single, he may wait
582 until he marries. If he marries into a local family his chances of acquiring an 'api are considerably enhanced. Some two-thirds of those interviewed in Nuku'alofa had married into local families and

half of these were sharing 'api tukuhau with their in-laws.

The migrant appears welcome to stay in the local household as long as he wishes and it is not unusual for him to do so for several years. There is rarely any question of payment for board or for the use of 'api kolo or 'api tukuhau though by mutual, unspoken understanding the migrant will supply a share of the food or contribute in other ways towards family expenses. Even when it is possible to live elsewhere and so avoid kin obligations, few choose to do so.

Table III

The Migrant and Access to Land, 1963-4

	Migrants[a] %	Total Household Questionnaire %
Registered 'Api Kolo	38	57
Registered 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	18	49
Registered 'Api Tukuhau elsewhere[b]	13	6
Sharing 'Api Tukuhau	42	25
No use of 'Api Tukuhau	27	20
No use of 'Api Tukuhau in Tongatapu	40	31
Number in Sample	74	107

[a] Based on Employment and Household Questionnaires.

[b] Application for an 'api in Tongatapu requires a previous cancellation of titles elsewhere.

The hierarchy of Tongan family relations is such that a young relative tends to feel more relaxed with close relations on his mother's side (fa'e tangata). These relations are under some obligation to him whereas he is obligated to his father's eldest sister (mehekitanga) and to a lesser extent to all his father's relations. It is natural, then, that a migrant will endeavour to stay with his mother's people. As one informant put it, "You feel closer to your mother's side because you are above them."

It is significant that few migrants considered they had any special problems of adjustment on arrival. The strength and importance of kin ties in this pattern of chain migration is best seen in the migrants' own comments:

"I had relations here. The burden was easier."
"I had no problems because my elder brother was here."

154
602
166 "I would stay even if I had no job. My sister is here."

464 Although an uneducated migrant probably has more difficulty in obtaining employment, migrants with secondary education have no more difficulty than the locally-born. The migrant's prospects for employment depend, along with all Tongans, on his education and the extent and importance of his kin. Migrants tend to be less involved in agriculture because they have more difficulty in obtaining registered land. They are, therefore, slightly more active in commerce, the produce boards, in certain tertiary areas and in a miscellanea of backyard jobs which are termed part-manufacturing and processing.

156 Most migrants intend to remain in Nuku'alofa and tend to feel
[186 they belong there. The reasons for "belonging" are illuminating and
[171 should further discredit the view that Polynesians have some sort of mystic attachment to their place of birth, an attachment which supposedly outweighs more mundane considerations. "I belong to Nuku'alofa because I can support my children here", was how one informant expressed his feelings, while another in a much more sweeping statement merely said, "Nuku'alofa has everything". Belonging to
602 Nuku'alofa does not, however, mean that the migrant severs his ties with the home island. He belongs more to his family than to a place. It was the institution of the family which supported him on arrival in Nuku'alofa and, once established and part of the family chain, he now
602 assists close relations who remain on the home island. Gifts and
431 visits were exchanged by over three-quarters of those interviewed (see
574 Table IV) and most not participating in such contact either had no close relation remaining in the home island or were young people whose obligations were for the present assumed by older brothers or sisters living in Nuku'alofa. This contact is reciprocal and only stops with the death or migration of the close relations involved.

Table IV

Close Family Gifts and Visits between Islands

	Yes	No	Not Stated
Gifts to Islands	39	18	-
Gifts from Islands	31	24	2
Visits to Islands	41	16	-
Visits from Islands	42	15	-

Number in Sample 57

369 It is the migrant, through his kin, who maintains the closest cultural links between town and country in Tonga. As considerably more than a half of the town's population is so involved, it is not surprising that rural and peasant modes and concepts continue to flow

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

explanation seems to lie in the relationship between settlement and marine resources. In the past, fishing and reef-collecting were important subsistence activities along with food cropping, although in recent years they have declined as canned meat and fish have become more easily obtainable. Settlement therefore tended to concentrate along the most productive shores; in Tongatapu, for instance, over 70 per cent of the villages are located along the low northern shore and around the lagoon, the areas considered to be the most productive in seafoods, while in Ha'apai, which has particularly extensive reefs and fishing grounds, only the very smallest islands or those without *kelefatu* soils have failed to attract settlement. Conversely, in 'Eua the surrounding reef is narrow and sometimes dangerous and the offshore waters deep and unsheltered, and until recently the island, despite its size, had only a tiny population. Population densities were therefore higher where shores and reefs were productive but the land area limited, as in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and parts of southern and eastern Vava'u, than where productive shores were backed by extensive areas of land, as in central and eastern Tongatapu. The lowest population densities were along unproductive shores, as in 'Eua, western Vava'u and parts of the south coast of Tongatapu.

This subsistence-orientated distribution of population in the past has by now been considerably modified by internal migration, which constitutes the second broad explanation of the present population pattern. Internal migration is largely directed towards Nuku'alofa, the capital, central and eastern Tongatapu and 'Eua, and away from western Tongatapu, Ha'apai, Vava'u and Niuatoputapu. It reflects movement in search of employment, education, land for cash cropping, and the attractions of urban life and is a result of the growing regional inequalities in development and opportunities within Tonga. Further discussion of migration, however, will be left to a later section, where it is examined in the context of the response of Tongans to population pressure. The main effect of internal migration on the earlier pattern of population distribution has been to reduce the contrasts between central and eastern Tongatapu and the long standing areas of high population density, but as migration appears to be continuing at a high rate further changes in population distribution can be expected.

Having outlined the main elements of land resources and population distribution we may now turn to the question of population

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 OU9 Tonga OU9

The above evidence points tentatively to mild symptoms of economic stress in areas of high population density. Land appears to have become a limiting factor in production given the present level of agricultural technology, but at population densities which vary according to the crop; the population density at which *per capita* banana production begins to decline, for instance, is higher than that at which *per capita* copra production is affected, because bananas are a less land-extensive crop. Much more research, including studies of nutrition, is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

POPULATION PRESSURE: PERCEPTION AND RESPONSE

To what extent are the pressures described in the last two sections consciously felt by Tongans living in areas of high population density? An attempt was made during field-work in western Tongatapu, Ha'apai and eastern Vava'u to ascertain the degree to which people felt hardship as a result of the shortage of land, concentrating in particular on married men without allotments as these were likely to suffer the most. We recall that even in densely-settled areas most men without allotments found it fairly easy to borrow land for cash cropping or collecting coconuts for copra-making. Yet only a small proportion of the men interviewed seemed to feel any hardship, all of these being men with large families to support, and most considered their income sufficient for their essential needs. About 30 men were asked what they would do with $A 1,000 if it were given to them; only one replied that he would spend it on food and other necessities, the rest stating housing or education for their children.

However, the degree to which population pressure is felt is better determined by what men do than by what they say. There are a number of possible reactions to population pressure, but only one of these, migration, is really significant in Tonga. In land tenure, for instance, there has as yet been no trend towards subdivision of allotments, even though this is not prohibited should the legal heir to the land be willing, and land disputes are rare. The only response by those in control of land matters, the Government and the chiefs, to the problems brought by population growth has been a belated effort to complete the survey and allocation of allotments. In agriculture there has been a steady intensification of the system and a

67: Maude K-5 (1961) 1973 0U9 Tonga 0U9

The pattern of internal migration, however, shows more sensitive response to population pressure, particularly in Ha'apai. The basic reason for migration in Tonga is the lack of opportunities to earn money in the outer islands as compared with Tongatapu, but the influence of land shortage is indicated by the fact that, within Ha'apai, population growth between 1956 and 1966 in each island tended to be inversely proportional to the 1956 population density (Fig. 7.2). The three islands which lie furthest from the general trend (circled in Fig. 7.2) all have residents who utilize land on the nearby high island of Tofua, and their effective population densities are therefore lower than those shown. It may be hypothesized that the higher the population density the harder it is for men, particularly those without their own allotments, to achieve a satisfactory cash-crop income, and in Ha'apai this problem is made greater by the fact that until recently cash cropping was largely restricted to coconuts, while opportunities for wage employment in the group have always been very limited. Of 20 cases of migration collected in Holopeka (Ha'apai), for instance, 18 were men without allotments, and 11 of these had left their village at least partly in the hope of obtaining land. That landlessness is not the only reason for migration, however, is shown in the fact noted earlier that those who had left Ha'afeva (Ha'apai) in 1966 included nearly half the men who already held land on the island. Employment following education on the main island, dissatisfaction with village life, a desire to take advantage of the better opportunities to earn money in Tongatapu or to ensure a better education for one's children are all important reasons for movement, while in Vava'u the damage caused to the economy by the 1961 hurricane seems to have been the major determinant of migration from that group in the early 1960s. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration from Ha'apai outlined earlier does demonstrate the significance of land shortage as a factor, and suggests that population pressure is sufficiently felt by many Tongans to stimulate them to leave their home village.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding sections we have examined a number of facets of the man/land system in Tonga. Symptoms of stress or pressure were found in land problems, the fallow vegetation, the nutrient status of the soil, cash-crop incomes and internal migration, and these point

368 Besides dwellings and the attendant secondary buildings, Puke has
366 a church, a town building, a kindergarten, a clinic and a store. All except the last are grouped on a small piece of land donated by the noble for community purposes. The store is located next to the house of the store owner.

491 An unsurfaced road connects the village with the main road and
494 buses traveling the main road are usually the only form of motor trans-
365 port used by the villagers. A power line runs beside the main road but no feeder line has been extended to Puke and there is no other source
312 of electrical power. The major sources of water are rain catchment and storage in brick and cement cisterns. There are also a few hand-dug wells from which water is obtained by rope and bucket.

Village Demography

162 Village population in 1971 was 261 persons living in 42 households.
[592] Table 5_A^A describes the population by age and sex. The population has
[166] grown considerably since 1955 due largely to migration from more remote
[161] islands of Tonga (See Table 6_A^B for origin of household heads and Table 7_A^C
369 for crude growth rates). Puke, being close to Nuku'alofa, has experi-
166 enced the effects of rural-to-urban migration in the archipelago (See Walsh 1969: 95-98). Recent immigrants have come to Puke because it provides easy access to services centered in Nuku'alofa not available in most of the more rural locales. Opportunity for education and better health care are frequently given as reasons for wishing to live close
166 to Nuku'alofa. Informants also mention the greater availability of

A_A^A, B_A^B, C_A^C [See pp. 27-29 respectively--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

TABLE 6

Place of Birth for Village Household Heads*

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166
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Location	Frequency	Frequency in Percent
Puke	7	16.7
Other Village in Tongatapu Group	18	42.8
Village in Ha'apai Group	4	9.5
Village in Vava'u Group	6	14.3
Niuatoputapu	7	16.7
Total	42	100.0

* Figures based on a January 1971 census by author.

166 wage labor as incentive for immigrating.

166 602 Recent immigration to Puke followed a pattern dependent on the immigrant having kin ties to persons already residing in the village. For instance, the seven Puke household heads from the Niua islands form two separate groups of kinsmen; each group was begun by one man marrying a woman of Puke, residing uxorilocally, and then being followed by other close kinsmen. This pattern of immigration is widespread on Tongataup and is based on the reliance upon kinsmen for access to land. [114] Walsh (1969: 95) has documented this process in Nuku'alofa.

Village Leadership

621 622 Village leadership is concentrated in three positions: town officer (ofisi kolo), noble ('eiki), and church steward. In Puke the sole representative of the government is the town officer; as such his role is primarily that of messenger and organizer while important decisions are made at higher levels. Government related tasks of the town officer are delivering government orders in the fono, carrying out certain police functions, accepting delivery of village mail and other minor administrative functions. However limited the official powers of the town officer, his sphere of influence may be increased by such factors as kin alliances, control of land or other wealth, and oratorical ability. The town officer is the only elected village leader.

[621] [625] [205] [554] [66]

621 565 Puke is a rather atypical village in that the noble, who holds the estate upon which Puke is located, resides in the village. Most nobles choose to live in Nuku'alofa and are represented in their villages by

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
[594] tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
593 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
431 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
437 tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
437 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
602 [166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical distribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
437 [594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1]

597 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained,
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[1] [For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

76: Yuncker N-4,5 (1953) 1959 OU9 Tonga OU9

Laportea harveyi, Rhus taitensis, Alphitonia zizyphoides, Dysoxylum spp., and other trees may reach considerable size. Tongatapu and 'Eua are the only permanently inhabited islands of the Tongatapu group.

The central, or Ha'apai, group is about 90 miles from Tongatapu. It includes the main islands of Lifuka, the former capital and site of the Chief's Palace; Nomuka; Kao; Tofua; and a large number of smaller islands, many of which now support no permanent inhabitants.

Vava'u, the largest and principal island of the Vava'u group, has an area of approximately 35 square miles and reaches an altitude of about 150 meters along the precipitous northern coast. Its surface is uneven and the southern, very irregularly and deeply indented coastline provides a beautiful and completely land-locked harbor, where the principal town of Neiafu is situated. At the northwestern part of the island is a lake of brackish water and nearby is a rather large swamp of marshy area unique in the islands. Another, a large central lake connected at one point with the sea during high water, is found on the island of Nomuka in the Ha'apai group. Large crater lakes also occur on Tofua and on Niuafo'ou. Ocean-going steamers are able to dock at Neiafu in Vava'u and at Nuku'alofa on Tongatapu. Cutters and interisland boats can reach a jetty at the village of Pangai on Lifuka Island in the Ha'apai group, and it is possible for very small boats to make a landing at a makeshift dock on 'Eua. And it is usually possible, in moderate seas, to get ashore from canoes or other small boats on the other low coral islands. It is much more difficult, however, to land on the volcanic islands of Tofua, Kao, Late, Niuafo'ou, or Tafahi where most of the coast is steep and abrupt and where protecting reefs are lacking or do not break the often strong wave action. These islands can be reached only by canoe or small boat and under most favorable weather conditions, or by swimming from larger boats which must stand well off shore for safety.

The population of Tonga is nearly 50,000. It is heavily concentrated on the islands of 'Eua, Tongatapu, Nomuka, Lifuka, and Vava'u and some of the smaller adjacent islands. The volcanic islands of 'Ata, Tofua, Kao, Late, and Niuafo'ou have few or no permanent inhabitants at the present time. The former population of about 1,300 on Niuafo'ou was evacuated after the disastrous volcanic eruption in 1946, and at present makes up a large part of the population on 'Eua. (See figure 2.)

The more heavily populated islands show a high percentage of land utilization, the indigenous plant species surviving only in occasional uncultivatable areas, usually near the sea. Everywhere grows a number of species of greater or lesser usefulness presumably brought to the islands by the aborigines as they arrived in Tonga from other islands. These species predominantly show Asiatic, African, or Malaysian origin. A possible exception is the sweet potato, and there is considerable question as to how it reached Polynesia. In this group one may include that most useful of all plants for island peoples, the coconut.

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

was very impressed by a school from the small village of Tofoa, conducted by a young woman who was trained by Amos. Young, in 1853, spoke glowingly of the results of school examinations at Nuku'alofa and in particular the school for young women of which the wife of the Chief Justice was both patron and teacher.

The Methodists in England belonged to that section of the English Dissent which held strong Sabbatarian views, and in Tonga the sacredness of the Sabbath was an integral part of the missionaries' teaching. Tongan converts accepted this aspect of the missionaries' teaching with all seriousness. They regarded it in the same spirit as they observed the traditional taboos. Referring to this reverence for the Sabbath in Tonga, Young (1854:268) wrote:

> Never had I previously observed such respect paid to the Sabbath of the Lord. The day appears to be exclusively devoted to religious services, and nothing meets the eye or ear infringing upon the sanctity of that blessed day, but everywhere incense and a pure offering seem to be presented to the Lord of Hosts. If the people are beheld coming from their habitations, it is that they may go up to the house of the Lord, and inquire in his holy temple. If a canoe is seen in the offing, it is conveying a Local Preacher to his appointment in some distant island, that he may preach unto the people Jesus. If noises occasionally fall upon the ear, they are not those of revelry and strife, but of holy praise and fervent prayer going up to heaven.

Observing the sacredness of the Sabbath later became a part of the constitution of Tonga.

Consistent with their puritanical attitudes to work, the missionaries seriously promoted industrious habits and commerce. People were encouraged to cultivate their land, build better dwelling places, and produce coconut oil for sale. Contribution to the mission was introduced and encouraged, as being part and parcel of the kind of life expected of converts to Christianity.

The many and diverse attractions of the mission activities led, among other things, to a redistribution of population in Tonga. Converts tended to move from their home areas to the centres where the missionaries resided, in order to attend the services and receive instruction in their new religion. Others moved into the

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
OU9 Tonga OU9

mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its development:

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolu has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W.M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages. Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself. Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God, their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

has been made to increase allotments to the statutory size, because this would have involved the dispossession of many landholders; surveys have therefore simply defined the existing boundaries except where allotments proved to be more than eight and a quarter acres, and most holdings are from three to six acres in size. The typical pattern of land distribution in these areas is shown in the figures for Ha'avakatolo (western Tongatapu) and Ha'afeva and 'Uiha (Ha'apai) in Table 1. In Ha'avakatolo (see Figure 1) on an hereditary estate, land shortage is eased because some men have allotments on near-by estates. Furthermore, since few allotments in Ha'avakatolo have been registered, there has been nothing to prevent some men from acquiring two or even three, with a total area of over eight acres; the head of one household in 1962, for example, had inherited a registered eight-acre allotment from his father, but also held an unregistered three-acre allotment given to him by the estate-holder, although this is contrary to the intention of the law.

In Ha'afeva the pattern of land distribution is complicated by out-migration. In 1966 no less than forty of the ninety-one persons who held land on the island (some of whom were widows) had moved either temporarily or permanently to other islands. Their land was left in the care of others, and the pattern of land distribution which resulted is shown in Table 2. Land was usually left in the care of relatives, not necessarily those without land of their own. Thus despite the fact that at the beginning of 1966 there were more holdings on Ha'afeva than there were households, nearly twenty per cent of the households still did not have control over an allotment. To what extent Ha'afeva is typical of other islands in Ha'apai is difficult to determine. The Governor of Ha'apai estimated in 1964 that about fifteen per cent of tax allotments in the group were held by non-residents (Tonga 1964:47), but several informants indicated that the pattern on Ha'afeva was similar to that on several other islands in the group.

Table 2: Land Distribution, Ha'afeva, 1966*

	Percentage distribution of households by acreage of land held or looked after						
	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16 and over
Land held	43	10	28	12	7	–	–
Total land held or looked after	19	5	33	27	12	2	2

* Based on a sample of approximately half the households in the village

A [See Category 423, p. 109—Analyst.]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Cabinet approval is illegal, and Cabinet approval is not given for land renting between Tongans. In fact, some of the more enterprising and large-scale banana growers and market gardeners, who can afford to pay rent and to contribute food crops and pigs to the estate-holder or landholder, have little difficulty in obtaining the use of land, though their tenure is insecure and unprotected by law. Land cannot be borrowed for planting coconuts, a long-term cash crop, and palms on an allotment are the property of the landholder, regardless of who planted them. A common practice for those without land, therefore, is to obtain permission to collect one or two cart loads of coconuts for copra making from the allotment of a relative or close friend, and for this no return is given. Another arrangement, especially between non-relatives and where the landholder lives elsewhere, is for the cash received for the copra to be shared half and half. Despite these arrangements a survey undertaken in four villages in Tongatapu showed that in 1961 the *per capita* cash crop income of households with no land ($T18.40) was only half that of households with eight acres (Maude 1965:155-6). Yet only a few of the landless men interviewed throughout Tonga seemed to experience hardship from land shortage; most considered their income sufficient for essential needs and some with energy and enterprise had higher cash incomes than many men with their own allotments. A few men in Ha'apai and Nuku'alofa with large families to support, however, did appear to feel under pressure.

In theory the Tongan system should have encouraged the movement of people from areas of land shortage to the more sparsely populated districts, for although an estate-holder may refuse a person from another locality permission to reside upon his estate, he cannot prevent such a person holding an allotment there, unless the Land Court rules against the grant. Some migration to obtain land has taken place over the last few decades, mainly from Ha'apai to central and eastern Tongatapu, but for reasons already mentioned it has not been easy to obtain land in the areas where allotments should have been available. Furthermore, acquiring land on an hereditary estate has usually been more difficult for a stranger to a village than for a local man, for the responsibility of an estate-holder towards his own people does not necessarily extend to others, and many people feel that the lands of an estate should be reserved for the people who traditionally belong there. Consequently in all the villages for which figures are available the proportion of men without

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

land is much higher among in-migrants than among those who belong there by birth (Maude 1965:118-19, Nayacakalou 1959:111), and the difficulty and uncertainty of obtaining an allotment has probably deterred migration from the densely settled areas. At the same time there has not been much opportunity for those who have allotments in these areas, but who have moved elsewhere, to exchange their old holdings for new ones (an exchange which is provided for in the Land Act) and so make land available for others, as should have happened in the case of Ha'afeva discussed earlier.

The main direction of migration within Tonga in recent years, moreover, has been towards Nuku'alofa and other parts of Tongatapu where the opportunities for earning money and the better educational facilities have been more important attractions than the possibility of obtaining land. People have been much less interested in moving to 'Eua and to western Vava'u, where land has been the only attraction (Maude 1965:81-6, Walsh 1964b: 188). Thus internal migration has only partly led to a better distribution of land; it has had only a small effect on the tenure problems of the densely settled areas, and among the rapidly-growing population of Nuku'alofa a large proportion of households are landless. In a sample survey of households in the town Walsh (1964b:63) found that only forty-nine per cent had a tax allotment on Tongatapu, sometimes miles from the town, while another six per cent had land elsewhere in Tonga. In the 1966 census only thirty-three per cent of taxpayers in Nuku'alofa stated that they had a tax allotment.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Tongan land tenure system also needs to be assessed in terms of the way in which land is used. Has this system, with its individual title to land and security of tenure, proved a satisfactory basis for cash cropping, and has it fostered the development of independent small holders free of some of the problems found with more traditional systems of land tenure in other parts of the South Pacific?

Cash cropping in Tonga has been largely confined to coconuts and bananas, but there is no indication that land tenure has been a factor in the non-acceptance of other crops. The early stages in the development of the present tenure system were apparently marked by an increase in cash cropping, for Rutherford (1966:58-9) quotes the opinion of Maudslay that the 1862

86: Marcus E-4,5 (1972-1975) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally. As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE VOLCANIC ISLANDS
(INCLUDING FALCON ISLAND AND NIUA FO'OU).

175 (1) 'ATA. Tasman sighted this island in 1643 as he sailed from
103 New Zealand, and he gave it the name of Pylstaart. It is 85 miles S.S.W.
of Togatabu. There are two peaks, the higher being 1,165 feet, but the
133 volcano is extinct. 'Ata contains deposits of guano, suitable for manure,
135 but the lack of a harbour renders these useless commercially. The island
was formerly inhabited. One account stated that people drifted there
174 from Tofua, Tugua and also from Houma in Togatabu, and relationship
with people in those places has been claimed by descendants of the 'Ata
166 people. Another explanation is that 'Ata was settled by refugees from
Atata who fled from the invasion of a cannibal chief, 'Uhila, of Nomuka,
and that these intended to flee to Togatabu but were blown south in a
storm. Still another account relates that refugees from Atata fled in
this way but it was because of the invasion of their island by Finau Ulu-
kalala II in 1799. Shortly after 1860, Tubou I ordered the 200 inhabitants
166 of 'Ata to remove to the village of Ha'atu'a or Kolomaile in 'Eua, on
[648 account of islanders being taken away by kidnapping ships to work in
the mines of Chile, South America. 'Ata was too isolated to be protected
then, and on account of its position and lack of an anchorage it has not
again attracted a population.

133 (2) HUGA TOGA is 490 feet high. (3) HUGA HA'ABAI is
400 feet high. These sister-islands, north-west of Togatabu, contain
[135 deposits of guano but have no anchorage. Volcanic activity has long
ceased.

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133
131

FALCON ISLAND.

LAT. 20° 19′ S. LONG. 175° 26′ W.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

133 wide, constantly steaming, and surrounded by deposits of sulphur. The prevailing South-East Trade Winds carried the ejected material to the north-west of the island. Water entered the crater-lake from the ocean, as the eastern wall of the crater was very low; the water in the lake was thickly coated with sulphur and had a vile taste. Already in 1928 the waves were breaking down the soft cliffs, and the rain had made deep gullies down the slopes. It is the opinion of scientists that occasional sinkings of the ocean-floor in the Tonga Deep, which sometimes cause earthquakes in New Zealand, at other times cause lava to be pumped up through the opening in Falcon Island, and this accounts for the periodical re-appearance of this island of soft ash and scoria. Since 1928 smoke has been seen at various times, but the island is being washed down again.

133 131 (5) TOFUA is a large island, 1,700 feet high, over five miles long and about four miles wide. Its area is 21 square miles, of which over three square miles is the area of the lake in the crater of the active volcano, which the Tongans call Lofia. Smoke can often be seen issuing 133 from the summit of this volcano, but there is no record of any destruction caused in recent years. Formerly the island was inhabited, the village 175 being called Manaka. In 1789, when Bligh and his loyal sailors, who 6+8 had been cast adrift from the "Bounty" between Nomuka and Tofua, landed at Tofua to get water, they were attacked by the natives who killed the quartermaster, Norton. The island has been deserted since 166 1854, when Tubou I ordered the inhabitants to leave because of the risk of eruptions. Tofua and Kao are now used only for gardening by people 311 from the neighbouring small and crowded islands of Fotuha'a, Matuku 136 and Kotu; these people also occasionally hunt the wild pigs with which 224 Tofua is infested.

133 (6) KAO is an extinct volcanic island, a perfect cone like Egmont in New Zealand and Fujiyama in Japan. The summit, called Tokonakao, is 3,380 feet high, the highest point in the Tongan group, and easily visible from Lifuka, 35 miles to the eastward. There was a village on the island long ago, but on the shore, not on the summit as an old story states. The narrow channel between Tofua and Kao is deep.

[131] [166] (7) LATE has a dormant volcano which has not erupted since 1854. Its area is over six square miles and height 1,700 feet; it has two craters and a small lake. The peak is plainly visible for 50 miles on clear days, and has always been a landmark for navigators. Late was formerly inhabited, but its people were taken to Huga, Vavau; it still contains the remains of a fort with a stone wall. The island is very fertile and densely-wooded.

[131] [175] [103] 166 (8) FONUALEI is 40 miles N.W. of Vava'u and 600 feet high. It was discovered by the Spaniard, Maurelle, in 1781; he named the island Amargura (Spanish for "bitterness"), because of his disappointment in not getting food and water there. Though the volcano at Fonualei has been dormant for some years, in 1846 it threw ashes over such a great area that the gardens in Vava'u were spoiled, and some ashes were borne by the wind to ships as far as 500 miles away. The Government now forbids habitation there and on the neighbouring small island, Toku. Toku was formerly inhabited by refugees from Ha'amea, near Nafualu, Togatabu, where tribal fighting often took place. The people of Toku had gardens on Fonualei, but they now live at Utulei, Vava'u.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

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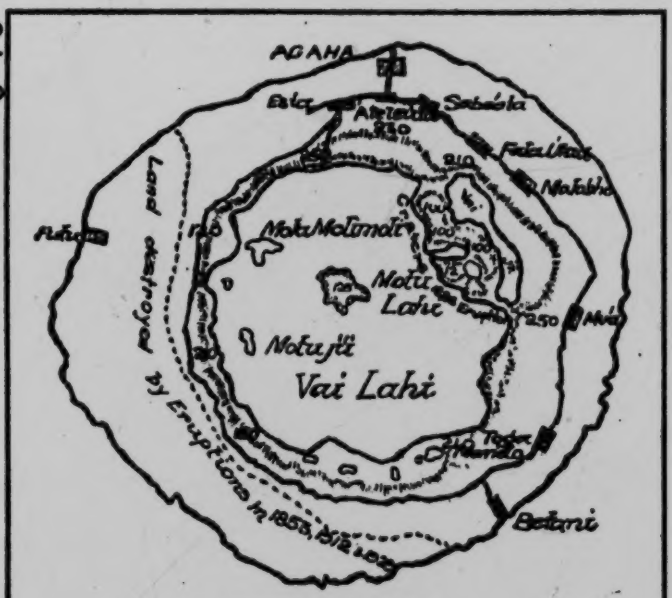

NIUA FO'OU.

LAT. 15° 36′ S. LONG. 175° 38′ W.

131 (11) NIUA FO'OU is the most remote island of the group, being much closer to Samoa and Fiji than to Togatabu. It is 109 miles W.N.W. [133] of Niua Tobutabu and 211 miles N.W. of Vava'u. Niua Fo'ou is almost circular and is 19 square miles in extent, including the lakes which cover six square miles. It rises to 588 feet and has a dangerous, dormant 133 volcano whose more recent eruptions have occurred in 1853 (when 25 731 people were killed), in 1867, 1886, 1912 and 1929. The village of Ahau was destroyed in 1853 and Futu in 1929, and both sites have been aban- [166] doned.

The last eruption is typical. On 25th July, 1929, a line of small craters opened up across the island on the western side, from the south-west coast to the north-west; these craters were so close that they formed almost a continuous line. Lava flowed down the western slopes to the sea, destroying nearly every building in Futu, and covering 2,000 acres which will be useless for cultivation for many years. The harbour at Futu is now cut off by the great lava-field. The people of Futu barely [166] escaped with their lives and lost all their goods. They have since built a new village not far from Agaha named 'Alele'uta.

133 There are little islands in the lakes of Niua Fo'ou and little craters in those islands also. In some places in the lakes hot springs have been found, and in others the depth cannot be ascertained.

000 American and New Zealand astronomers observed the total eclipse of the sun at Niua Fo'ou on 22nd October, 1930.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

Disastrous hurricanes frequently occur, and the island has been ravaged as recently as December, 1930, February, 1931, and March, 1932. During the hurricane season Niua Fo'ou is not visited by small craft. Though the island has been so repeatedly devastated by eruptions and storms, and its condition seems to be more dangerous than that, for instance, of the uninhabited large island of Tofua, still there is no intention of abandoning it for a safer home closer to the main islands of the group.

Its present population is 1,291. The inhabitants are a distinct type, with local variations of the Tongan language due to ancient contact with Samoa and Uvea, but more intercourse with the rest of the Tongan group is causing these old words to fall into comparative disuse.

The "Tin-can Mail" is Niua Fo'ou's claim to distinction. As the harbour at Agaha is inconvenient, and the sea is generally too rough for canoes, the mail is taken by swimmers to the steamer which passes from Samoa to Fiji. The outgoing mail is generally wrapped in oiled paper and tied to sticks, and the inward mail is brought back from the steamer in a sealed tin-can.

THE CHIEF CORAL ISLANDS, WITH SCENIC AND HISTORIC PLACES.

'EUA. This island, which is of great age geologically, reaches a height of 1,078 feet, and has an area of 33 square miles. Although it is as large as Vava'u and contains fertile soil in abundance, its population of 348 is most disproportionate. Its inadequate harbour at 'Ohonua and the sometimes dangerous channel between the island and Togatabu, though disadvantageous to the progress of 'Eua, do not really explain the decline in its population; this is due rather to the proximity of Nuku'alofa with its attractions. Considering that many small islands in Ha'abai support numerous taxpayers who have no allotments, the neglect of 'Eua is regrettable.

'Eua was called Middelburg by its discoverer, Tasman, and Cook had a high opinion of its beauty and fertility. This island is unique in several respects. It has several small creeks which rise from springs in the hillsides and descend to the western shore;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 79]

161 1840 by Wilkes may have been an excessively conservative estimate (Maude, 1965:46), and the figure of 19,186 obtained from the first official census in 1891 (Matoto, 1971:9) is probably a better indication of the Tongan population at its lowest point. From studies of population trends in the South Pacific in general, Keesing (1942:47) estimated that "the lowest points in Polynesian populations were reached variously from 1890 to 1910."

161 The trend of a declining population was reversed around
165 the turn of the century, especially after World War I (Table 6), although about 1600 Tongans died in the worldwide influ-
161 enza epidemic of 1918 (Gifford, 1929:330). Since then, Tongan population has grown rapidly and, at present, Tonga has one of the highest population growth rates in the world, approximately three per cent per annum (Dommen, 1971:6).

161 This rapid growth can be attributed to the development
743 of a medical service, the construction of hospitals, an
312 improvement of public water supplies, an increase in natural
178 immunity to foreign diseases on the part of Tongans, and post-World War II economic prosperity.

161 From 1921 until the last official census in 1966, the
166 population of the Kingdom increased by about 225 percent and the population of Tongatapu increased by 390 percent,
168 partly owing to immigration from the outer islands. The
842 Tongan government hopes that the present "family planning" campaign will help to reduce this growth rate.

Population Distribution

161 The distribution of population also has an effect
162 on the nature of the agricultural system. Since European contact, there have been major Kingdom-wide changes in the distribution of the population, as well as changes within each island group.

161 Immigration from the outer islands has resulted in
162 a disproportionate growth of Tongatapu's population. Popu-
[166] lation figures from four censuses (Table 7) show that whereas Tongatapu had just over 40 percent of the Kingdom's population in 1921, it now has over 60 percent. From 1956 to 1966 population growth in the outer islands was less than one-third that of Tongatapu. During these ten years, population growth has been 76 percent in the capital city of Nuku'alofa and environs; even in rural Tongatapu, the growth rate of 43 percent is greater than that of the Kingdom as a whole (Tupouniua, 1958:42-45; Fiefia, 1968:38-42).

166 Incentives for migration to Tongatapu and especially
369 to Nuku'alofa include: better educational and recreational facilities; opportunities for wage labor; better transportation and chances to go overseas; more developed network for marketing agricultural products locally and overseas;
161 and the general aura and excitement of urban life. Regard-
162 less of the motives for population redistribution, the
182 effect on Tongatapu's agriculture is considerable, and there
311 is an increased demand for land and a burgeoning landless class on Tongatapu.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1876-1890]

preparatory meetings with boasting of what would be given at the annual missionary meetings. The gifts were always announced publicly. Baker added a method of piecemeal continued giving, an elimination process for the honour and glory of the last survivors. Basil Thomson's descriptions of missionary collections in his day (1890), both Free Church and Wesleyan, were truthful, despite humourous exaggerations.[26] It was an open competition in a circus-like atmosphere, entirely out of keeping with a religious setting.

In spite of the adverse publicity from "The Earl and the Doctor", the Missionary Committee reacted in a manner favourable to Baker and confirmed him in the chairmanship when he feared that it might have been given to his rival, Moulton. Baker had visited Sydney at that time (1873), and the Missionary Committee resolved that,

> "Having heard the statements of the Rev. S. W. Baker relative to the unexampled financial and spiritual prosperity of the Mission in the Friendly Islands District, [it] records its thankfulness to God for His abundant blessing upon the missionaries and their work." (27)

Fortified with this eulogy, Baker repressed any desire to return to a ministry in Australia in 1873 and set out to raise ever larger sums. He developed a special technique for giving credit in advance. This became notorious, with the German firm of Godeffroy having a monopoly of the copra from the collections. Sometimes a representative of the firm stood at the church door to make these advance payments against the copra to be sold later. Many of the debts would have been unmanageable in any case, and when a hurricane or a drought occurred many people failed to meet their obligations to Godeffroy. Distress warrants were taken out in many cases. Moulton was most critical of these practices. So was George Minns, who bemoaned also the contrast between spiritual deadness and booming collections. To Chapman on 26 January 1874, Minns wrote:

> "Our success is represented by £ s d. The disparity between our finances and our spirituality is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the 'Missionary Notices'. . . . The Missionary affair [= collections] is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse . . . Let us wait a few years longer for there are great difficulties ahead." (28)

Sir Charles Mitchell, High Commissioner, in his report to the British Parliament in 1887, criticized the Mission and stressed the king's resentment at the large sums going out of the country. Actually, some of the money was being banked in Sydney for the Tonga Jubilee Fund. Also, it was Baker himself who was responsible for this financial policy.

Mr. E. L. Layard, appointed as British Consul for Fiji and Tonga, visited Nuku'alofa in February 1876, and he at once received an avalanche of complaints from European residents, many of them disreputable beachcombers, and some of them rivals of the German firm. Baker declared that some of those who signed a petition to Layard had been cured of venereal disease by him.[29] On the basis of these complaints, Layard made many charges to Sir Arthur Gordon, alleging that Baker was "a trader in disguise", "the virtual ruler of Tonga", using his power

> "not for the good of the natives but actually for his own aggrandizement and enrichment, and to the detriment and possible banishment of every white man except his own special party from the Islands". (30)

Layard alleged that Baker was being well paid for his medical work. He added an absurd story about the people in the southernmost remote island of 'Ata

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

(Pylstaart) being brought to 'Eua for the convenience of the missionaries whereas in fact the king had brought them to Tongatapu and 'Eua because of "the vile traffic of the whalers with the women of the island",[31] and the depradations of blackbirders who took the inhabitants to guano digging and sugar planting in Peru and Chile where some, unfortunately, died. Baker had no difficulty in showing the falsity of statements of this nature.

Sir Arthur Gordon did not attach much weight to many of Layard's charges. In regard to one, that Ma'afu of Fiji should be the heir-apparent instead of 'Unga, Gordon was satisfied that 'Unga was properly the heir. Summing up, Gordon considered the only justifiable grounds for complaint against Baker were two, his political activities and his excessive fund-raising efforts.[32] Baker was to hear more about these — but not from the discredited Consul Layard. On Gordon's recommendation, the Earl of Carnarvon, Colonial Secretary, and Lord Derby, Foreign Secretary, refused to take any action against Baker on Layard's charges.[33] Not only did Baker succeed in refuting these but he regarded 1876, the Jubilee year, as the high-water mark in the history of the Mission, and proudly recorded that, as well as the large financial contributions,

> "we have had a glorious revival, upwards of 600 have joined the Church, upwards of 60 Papists have turned over; never has Tonga had such a glorious revival." (34)

It was significant that, up to this stage, Baker was supported by Frederick Langham, veteran missionary and influential Chairman of the Fiji District. He protested against Layard not informing Baker that he was laying charges.[35] Langham believed that Gordon was moved by a desire to have Baker out of the way lest his pro-German policy injure British interests in Fiji and the whole area. Langham, in writing to Chapman, 28 June 1878, added:

> "I reminded him (Gordon) that he had told me that, if Mr. Baker were not removed from Tongatapu, he would have to take some action." (36)

Greater pressure was exerted against Baker when Maudslay arrived in June 1878 as Deputy Commissioner and Vice-Consul. From the outset, Maudslay was prejudiced. He soon began investigating the missionary's conduct in both political and financial affairs. Naturally, Baker resented Maudslay's inquiries; he even preached against him from the pulpit, warning the people to ignore him, from the text, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . ?" (Galatians iii. 1).

Maudslay had the assistance of another officer of the Fiji Government, David Wilkinson, who was a practising member of the Wesleyan Church and respected by the Chairman of the Fiji District, Langham. Wilkinson became very critical of Baker. He told Langham that some Tongans, unable to pay their debts to Godeffroy after the collections, had lost their goods, sold at ridiculous prices; and this had occurred after drought and hurricane had reduced them to abject poverty.[37] Maudslay and Wilkinson, in their visits to villages, met with difficulty in securing witnesses because Baker was dismissing from office in the Church those who gave them information. Wilkinson wrote to Langham:

> "He is pursuing so tyrannical a course towards natives and all he regards as his enemies and threatens the utmost pains and punishment to those who gave us information." (38)

Wilkinson, "as a Wesleyan", asked Maudslay to suspend action against Baker pending an approach to the Missionary Committee to remove him. Langham wrote to Wilkinson objecting to Baker not being given an opportunity to defend himself against the allegations; nevertheless, Langham added:

> "But, after taking all these things into consideration and giving them due weight, there still remains a feeling of uneasiness and an apprehension that there may be something underlying it all." (39)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

The charges were attempted assassination and armed opposition to the king's government. Ten men were convicted and sentenced to death. As well as those directly concerned in the attack, others were charged as accomplices. One was David Finau, a minister and staff member at Tupou College, sentenced to 22 years' imprisonment as an accomplice, because some of the conspirators had visited the College on the previous night and had spoken to him about their intentions.

Though the Premier had succeeded in having the death sentence passed against ten men, he evidently did not wish it to be carried out; he went to the king and asked him to commute the sentences to life imprisonment. The king, however, was adamant and, after Baker left the palace, he gave orders at 2 a.m. for six of the condemned men to be taken to Malinoa, an island off Nuku'alofa, and shot at once. Incidentally, three of the six were Wesleyans, two were Roman Catholics, and the sixth was not identified denominationally. These six men were shot in irons and buried where they died. The Tongan people have regarded Malinoa as an accursed spot ever since these executions. When further executions were intended, the European residents of Nuku'alofa considered taking action to prevent these, and Baker himself countermanded the king's orders.

Moulton called at the palace on the evening of the attack on the Premier to express sympathy, and he was driven away with execrations by palace officials. Baker published articles for the overseas press blaming Moulton's followers for the whole plot, an allegation he withdrew before Sir Charles Mitchell. It was at Baker's suggestion that the king ordered the warriors to come from the north, although all the conspirators had been arrested days before they came, and Baker later admitted that his advice at this point had been unjustified.

The men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, with their faces blackened according to the old customs of pre-Christian Tongan warfare, went on rampage through Tongatapu as in 1885, indulging in even greater savagery and destruction. They flogged the Wesleyans, destroyed gardens, shot pigs, and stole goods everywhere.

Because some of the plotters had visited Tupou College the night before the attack, it was singled out for punishment. The College was invaded and would have been looted but for Giles, the Consul, who intervened. Soon afterwards, on 5 February, the king ordered Tupou College to be closed; this, as Mitchell said, was "an arbitrary act".

The hundreds of floggings of Wesleyans in January and February 1887 were more brutal than before. No restraint was exercised by the king or the Premier. The king's pre-Christian savagery seemed to have returned but his age, 90 years, can be urged in extenuation. The helpless state of his few adherents moved Moulton to petition for their removal from Tonga. There were only thirty-six left in Tongatapu, and, with others from the north, the total, including children, was ninety. They sailed on 14 February, not knowing their destination. Pylstaart ('Ata), the desolate remote island to the south, had been mentioned. After they had left, they were told they were heading for Fiji. They were taken to the island of Koro where they remained until 1890. Salote, the king's daughter, was one of these voluntary exiles. Another was Mateialona, a grandson of the king and future Premier. David Tonga, then stationed in Ha'apai, and his wife Rachel were in this party. Before their deportation, the Ha'apai Wesleyans had been confined in a room, 12 feet by 16 feet, with two windows and one door, all kept closed, and where it was impossible for the twenty-nine inmates to lie down at one time;

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

they had been kept there for seven days and nights, and without food, except for what merciful European residents brought them.(63)

Allowing for exaggerations in reports sent overseas to Wesleyan sympathizers (and Sir Charles Mitchell referred to these), a careful examination leaves enough evidence of widespread brutality of a reprehensible nature inflicted on defenceless people, who were innocent of any offence save loyalty to the Wesleyan Church.

When R. B. Leefe succeeded Giles as Consul, in February 1887, it was rumoured that he had told the king that Queen Victoria allowed him to do as he pleased with his people. This false story brought renewed violence against the Wesleyans. The only modicum of truth in the rumour was that Leefe had been advised by Thurston that Moulton had been too disposed to look to the Consul for protection and that he (Leefe) should keep a neutral position. Without being unsympathetic, Leefe found the almost daily protests irritating and he gave Moulton plain advice. On 30 June 1887 (after the Mitchell inquiry) he said that the High Commissioner did not consider it wise to let the Wesleyan exiles return from Fiji then,

> "not until political and religious excitement has subsided which I need hardly remind you is as yet by no means the case."

He warned Moulton not to ask the Conference in Australia to interfere:

> "the High Commissioner had hoped that you would have learned from the recent disclosures that any such interference by that body would be the surest means of re-kindling the fires of religious animosity."

Leefe cautioned Moulton against accepting every complaint he received at its face value; in one case, he said,

> "you appear to have acted with extraordinary indiscretion. If you continue to fan the flames of fire which I am certain is by no means extinguished, the hope of ultimate peace will be indefinitely postponed." (64)

Moulton evidently needed this rebuke, but the continued sufferings of his people had reduced him to despair. Both before and after the Mitchell inquiry there seemed to be little, if any, abatement of violence; and no relief appeared in sight from any quarter.

Twelve students from Tupou College, sentenced to two years for not taking the militia oath, were removed in irons to Vava'u. There, on 2 March 1887, they were mercilessly flogged. It was one of the worst cases of savagery breaking out again in those days of unbridled licence. One lad received seventy-five lashes; he uttered only the words, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit", before swooning. When asked, on regaining consciousness, whether he would become Free Church, he said, "No, never". He was John Havea, whose forgiving spirit at the reunion in 1924 made an indelible impression on the present author. John Havea was to him a father-in-God and a true saint; and this book is dedicated to his memory.

Such disgraceful incidents were halted by the arrival of the newly-appointed High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, Sir Charles Mitchell. He had just reached Fiji when he was directed by the British Government to proceed to Tonga to inquire into "recent disturbances in, and the affairs of, Tonga". He was a new and unprejudiced investigator.

Sir Charles arrived on H.M.S. *Diamond* on 29 March 1887, accompanied by the Chief Judicial Commissioner, Mr. Justice Clarke, and the Secretary to the High Commission, Mr. W. Collet. He interviewed the king at once and, two days later, submitted him to a searching interrogation. He formed the opinion that the

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

of women, led by the chieftainess who would have been Tu'i Tonga Fefine, placed around Thurston's neck the garland offered to the Tu'i Tonga as a sacred duty in ancient times.(22)

Baker's career of thirty years as missionary and Premier closed in humiliating circumstances. He had many achievements in secular affairs to his credit — his advice to the king in earlier years, the draft of the Constitution, and his administration since 1880 which, in spite of the confusion of the period, had shown his executive ability and his flair for legislation in many fields. He might have prolonged his regime and added to his administrative record had it not been for his controversial policies.

The saddest legacy of Baker's thirty years was a divided Tonga, with memories of quarrels and persecutions that would delay any possibility of unity for many a long year. The old Tongan proverb was applied to Baker — "The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left".

* * * *

The departure of Baker was acclaimed by the Church in Australia as a vindication of the Wesleyans' cause; their jubiliation was not helpful to the delicate situation in Tonga. Baker's removal made no difference whatever to the Free Church party. Sir John Thurston, writing on the day Baker left (17 July 1890), made this clear to Dr. Kelynack, President of the Australian General Conference —

> "The King and all the higher chiefs who met His Excellency appear firmly attached to the Free Church. Any indication of an attack upon it would, in His Excellency's opinion, be followed by a determined resistance." (24)

Thurston believed that, if Tonga was recognized as a Conference, as recommended by George Brown, re-union was possible; but this, unfortunately, was an unsubstantial hope.

After Baker's removal the king readily assented to the return of the exiled Wesleyans who had been at Koro, in Fiji, for over three years. They now numbered 130, including children. Sir John Thurston and his staff personally farewelled them on the wharf in Suva. Tupou's daughter, Salote, was one of them. They returned to Nuku'alofa on 19 August 1890, in no exultant spirit, but with the Tongan traditional forms of humility and submission to the king. Some of the Free Church ministers who had often made pointed allusions to an imagined threat of British annexation went so far as to preach against the returning Wesleyans, alleging falsely that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown during their sojourn in Fiji.

That genuine religion could survive the bitter strife of the previous decade was little short of miraculous. Religion had been indeed discredited in the eyes of many people, Tongans and Europeans. Basil Thomson, though not unbiassed concerning Missions, had grounds for his observation:

> "The Tongans, an intelligent people . . . have seen the Mission first support and then dismiss their Chairman for questionable practices. They have seen religion and the Churches made use of as a mere political instrument for the personal aggrandizement of one man. . . . It is to be feared that the Tongans, with whom religion has already become a mere form, will have little to show for the self-denying work of the early missionaries." (25)

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

184 are also differences among villages with respect to ecological setting, population density, and a number of social, political, and economic factors. Motulahi is particularly unlike most other villages in that there 162 is a very large number of people in the village. According to the census 361 of 1966, Motulahi's population numbered 1122, making it one of only 621 eight villages in the whole of Tonga with a population of more than one thousand people. At the same time, half of all the villages in Tonga had a population under three hundred. However, the population of all these small villages accounted for less than one fifth of the total population of Tonga, and only one quarter of all the people living in villages.

125 Before proceeding to examine the population of Motulahi, something should be said about the difficulty of making a statement about who the people of any village in Tonga *are*. My household survey was conducted intermittently, beginning early in January 1970 and continuing [484] at intervals until about the middle of May. By the end of that period, [166] some of the people who were enumerated earlier in the survey were no longer living in Motulahi or were still in the village but living in some other household, while others came to live in Motulahi only after I had 121 already surveyed the household in which they lived. Demographers commonly deal with these fluctuations by arbitrarily fixing on a particular date and enumerating the population present at that date. This suits their purpose of enumeration, but it is an intolerably arbitrary solution of the problem of ethnographic description (Carroll 1975a, Colson 1967). My lack of concern at that time for the demographic significance of the data I was collecting is revealed by the fact that I did not take the simple step of making an enumeration of the population present on one day. Instead, what I did was try to keep track of the people whose existence I was aware of, noting changes in household composition and migration in and out of the village. It was in considering how to deal with these data that I came to realize that population flux is not a difficulty that gets in the way of perceiving the demographic characteristics of the village but, instead, is a vital element of proper description of local organization in Tonga (Decktor Korn 1975). Again, since I gave no thought to the compilation of statistics on migration, I made no effort to ascertain exactly when these residential changes took place. What I wanted to determine was the reasons and circumstances that caused people to make their moves.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

For the present purpose of presenting a demographic profile of the village, I am taking the population of Motulahi to be the sum of the people who were enumerated in the course of the house-to-house survey (except that anyone enumerated more than once is counted only at the last household). People not living in a household at the time it was surveyed are not included here; to include them would inflate the population total and distort the age-sex proportions, since young adults are more mobile residentially than other segments of the population.

According to this enumeration, Motulahi had 1192 inhabitants in the early part of 1970. Of these people, 617 were male and 575 were female (see Table 1). A percentage breakdown of village population according to ten-year age categories indicates that more than half the population was under the age of twenty and over 90 % were under the age of fifty. This is similar to the age distribution within the national population at the time of the census of 1966. However, there was a higher percentage of persons in the 10—19 year-old group in Motulahi than in the nation at large, and this might be accounted for by the fact that it is fairly

Table 1. Population of Motulahi 1970, Enumerated by Sex and Age and Compared with the National Population (1966)

Age Group	Motulahi					National	
	Number			% (N = 1192)	Proportion of Males per 1000 Persons	% (N = 77,429)	Proportion of Males per 1000 Persons
	Males	Females	Total				
0—9	202	168	370	31.0	546	33.4	520
10—19	183	147	330	27.7	555	22.9	517
20—29	81	93	174	14.6	466	15.1	503
30—39	53	66	119	10.0	445	11.2	505
40—49	54	51	105	8.8	514	7.8	524
50—59	23	23	46	3.9	500	4.6	525
60—69	12	15	27	2.3	444	3.0	497
70+	9	12	21	1.8	429	1.8	466
Unknown	—		—	—	NA	0.2	NA
Total	617	575	1192	100.1	518	100.0	514

Sources: fieldwork survey; Fiefia 1968: 50—52.

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

common for youngsters from the outer islands to be sent to live with a family on Tongatapu so that they can attend the better schools on the main island.

There is less similarity to national demographic characteristics when we examine the proportion of males in the population; that is, there are considerable differences between the figures for Motulahi and those for the population as a whole (see Table 1). The excess of males over females in the 10—19 year-old group might be accounted for by the fact that, while there is no overt sex discrimination in education opportunity, a boy's parents are more likely to make the effort involved in moving to live on the main island or sending their child to live there. The excess of females in the 20—29 and 30—39 year-old groups might be accounted for by the fact that men in those age-categories may be living away from the main island to earn a living on the land or in some job while the wife and children live where the children can take advantage of educational opportunities. However, I do not have a great deal of confidence in these explanations. The age-sex structure of the national population calls for further demographic investigation, and differences between the age-sex proportions for Motulahi and the nation as a whole could be accounted for by random variation.

Anomalies, Discrepancies, and Ethnographic Validity

Again, had I been interested in these matters at the time the data were collected, I would undoubtedly be in a better position now. For one thing, I would surely have been more careful in collecting data on people's age and checking the accuracy of these data. Then, I was usually content to record what I was told about a person's age at the nearest birthday; I seldom bothered to ask for the exact birth date, and there were few cases where the answer to my question about a person's age seemed so anomalous that I felt it necessary to probe beyond the first response. However, I now feel that the accuracy of my data on age must be regarded with some reservation, and of course this affects the value of other demographic data, particularly material relating to fertility. The assumption that the data on exact age are not accurate is the most likely explanation for the anomalous finding that only two young women in the village said to be under the age of twenty had already

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

the national census. Rather, the point I wish to emphasize is that an ethnographer is generally in far the best position to provide data whose quality and accuracy are such that they may constitute a special contribution: first, by providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing, and second, by facilitating demographic analyses that are either not possible or not feasible in the analysis of the conventionally-derived census.

As to the first contribution—providing a check on the quality and accuracy of data collected by means of conventional censusing—I shall give an example from Tongan data relating to migration.

Since Tonga is a country of many small islands, slight shifts of population may have important consequences and therefore migration is a matter of considerable interest. In the words of the Census Officer for the 1966 census,

> "It will be proposed throughout this Report that the Tongan population has become mobile, both internally and externally ... The movement of people between the islands especially to Tongatapu, has reached a stage where governmental intervention in the supervision and planning of these migrations is urgently required." (Fiefia 1968: 11.)

Clearly, the Tongan government would like to have information about migration. However, as the following discussion shows, the notion of migration is not culturally neutral and the problem is how data on 'migration' are to be obtained.

In the national census reports, both for 1956 and 1966, there is a comparison between place of birth and place of enumeration. The difficulty with this is that while such a comparison tells us something about population movement, it cannot be taken to be very informative about the rate and direction of migration. This is because in Tonga, particularly in the early years of a marriage until a couple establishes their own household, there is a great deal of movement back and forth between the wife's kin and the husband's kin. A child may be born at the home of one set of grandparents, live for some time at the home of another set (where some siblings may be born), and grow up at a third place where the parents have established their own household. The demographic difficulties resulting from this are partly recognized in the report on the 1966 census:

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

> "As the Census was a de facto one, people were enumerated in wherever they were domiciled at the time of the Census. It is legitimate to assume that many people would be enumerated away from their village or island of birth. However, it would be false to assume that all persons enumerated away from their islands of birth were migrants, external or internal. Children are born in whatever village their parents happen to be residing at the time and they do not select their village of residence. A more realistic picture of any migration that has taken place can be obtained by examining the adult population which decides on the place of permanent residence. It is therefore justifiable to say that the majority of the adults who were born in one island but enumerated in another could be assumed to have migrated there." (Fiefia 1968: 21.)

As I understand it, there are two important points in the preceding passage. First, a child's moving from one place of residence to another is not a matter of the child's choice and therefore, while one can make inferences about an adult's residential preference from his place of enumeration, one cannot do this in the case of a child. Second, since a more realistic picture of residential preference is obtained by focusing on adults' residential mobility, the data on children's mobility should be excluded. Both points are well taken. However, an adult's being enumerated away from where he was born does not warrant the conclusion that his having moved there was a matter of his residential preference; he might have come there as a child. Thus, one does not get around the problem of correcting for children's residential mobility by limiting the comparison between places of birth and enumeration to adults. An indication of the extent to which such a comparison distorts the data is seen in Table 3, which distinguishes among adults living in Motulahi in 1970 according to the point at which they first came to live in the village. The table shows that while fewer than 30 % were born in Motulahi, more than half the adult population first lived in Motulahi before they were adults.

Clearly, a gross comparison of place of birth and place of enumeration is not very meaningful unless the residential circumstances at the time of birth and through childhood are known. Investigation along these lines, however, is hardly feasible in the collection and compilation of the national census. Furthermore, while such data could be obtained through

94: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1976
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

162 166 621 *Table 3. Initial Residence in Motulahi of Adults Resident in Motulahi in 1970, by Age*

Circumstances of Initial Residence	Age Group			Total (N = 492) %
	20—29 (N = 174) %	30—49 (N = 224) %	50+ (N = 95) %	
Born in Motulahi	35.1	28.1	16.0	28.3
Came Before Age 20	31.0	25.0	11.7	24.6
Came as an Adult	33.9	46.9	72.3	47.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1

Source: Field notes.

125 ethnographic censusing, it is not clear how they are to be presented in a quantifiable form without violating their ethnographic integrity.

Thus, the problem of establishing culturally meaningful indices of migration in Tonga remains. One solution might be to examine how long each person has resided at the place of enumeration. Indeed, this was one of the recommendations made in the official report on the 1956 census (Tupouniua 1958: 28). The recommendation was not imple-
574 mented in the next census, however. The difficulty is that visiting away from home with friends and relatives for a few days or weeks is a favorite activity of Tongans, particularly among young unmarried adults, and such short-term population movements would distort any index of population flow based on the length of residence at the place of enumeration.
574 One cannot get around this problem by asking about the person's normal
591 or ordinary place of permanent residence, because Tongans do not have our concept of permanent residence; instead, they recognize different kinds of what we would call "temporary residence" (see Decktor Korn 1975). This difficulty might be dealt with by enquiring how long the person has/had been living at the place where he was resident for the majority of the previous twelve months. While this does not produce an index of migration, it could serve as an index of the extent of residential stability.

125 As to the question of population flow, an improvement on comparison of place of birth and place of enumeration would be to ask where the

/39 cont./

164 177 262

84. See the chapter "Food" p. 275 ff.; the present very high prices for copra (chief export product) make it possible for every native to buy wheat flour, sugar (both often by the sackful), canned meat, fish and fat, and other food imported from Europe.

could be the frequently observable dental defects of young Tongan men and women, (85)

[752]

85. According to circumstances, defective, aching teeth are not filled but extracted, at any rate on the small islands.

as well as the striking occurrence of partial baldness among middle-aged and older males. (86)

86. This is not yet mentioned in the old sources.

166 177 [161]

It seems noteworthy that venereal diseases are not widespread in Tonga.

Summarizing, one may say that in this Archipelago the increase (or intensification) of diseases caused by European influence have had no devastating effect on the population which, in the last 30 years, has doubled and in the preceding decades (with the exception of the influenza epidemic of 1918) remained on approximately the same level.

Health Care

657 744

There is an organized system of health care today in Tonga, the beginnings of which go back to the missions, while now it is exclusively run by the government. All natives have a right to free medical and dental (tooth extraction and filling) treatment financed by the Tongan state. This treatment is at present carried out in the entire Archipelago by a white physician known as "chief medical officer" /cited in English/, by a second (pensioned) white physician who as "medical officer" /cited in English/ has an advisory function, by approximately 20 Tongan assistant physicians ("medical practitioners" /cited in English/) and assistant dentists ("dental practitioners" /cited in English/), by

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101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

171 critical in other Polynesian island groups. In the case of Fiji, the issue is not one of overpopulation as much as land distribution among racial elements of the population (Mohan 1961). In Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, population expansion is drawn off by migration to New Zealand (Curson 1973). In American Samoa, population expansion is released to the American West Coast and Hawaii.

167 Tonga, having had a long history of political independence, has no such outlet for her growing population. Migration has not played a significant role in the population characteristics of Tonga in the past several decades. (This refers only to movements of population out of the national limits of Tonga in a permanent [166] sense. Internal migration, i.e., rural to urban, is a significant consideration and will be treated in some depth within this research.)

167 Presently, the only notable migratory trend is in temporary Tongan 464 labor movements to Australia, New Zealand and nearby islands, in search of employment. The majority of these laborers return to Tonga within a year and, therefore, do not provide an effective or 464 permanent outlet for Tongan population (Clark 1974). However, of 434 significance is the additional capital and purchasing power enjoyed by this labor group, upon their return to Tonga.

000 Eliminating the probability of large scale migration, Tonga is faced with three basic alternatives in the foreseeable future: (1) establish and maintain a population control program which will stabilize the expanding population at a level capable of being sustained by Tongan agriculture and the limited national resource base; (2) support the growing national population through an

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

000 expanded agricultural base and a program of commodity imports from nations still producing a food surplus; or (3) approach a level of population at which point natural controls (i.e., malnutrition and/or starvation) set in to bring the population into balance with the supporting capacity of the land.

166 178 [369] In addition to the basic difficulty of population-food imbalance, Tonga must also contend with the physical shifting of its population from rural to urban settings, and the economic shift of elements of the population from a traditional subsistence agriculture to a cash economy. Both of these changes in the character of Tongan population tend to aggravate the overall population-food and agricultural imbalance.

369 171 Rates of urbanization in the entire South Pacific region are among the highest in the world, when considered as a percentage of total population. If one includes the nations of Australia and New Zealand, the peoples of the South Pacific are the most urbanized in the world on a proportional basis (Urban Problems in the South Pacific, 1967, p. 2; Urbanization in the South Pacific, 1962, p. 1). Tonga, since the end of World War II, has seen rapid growth in its capital city, which has nearly tripled in size.

369 [182] This changing characteristic of the population has in itself had a significant impact on the natural environment of Tonga. In addition, as urbanization continues to expand, social issues including housing, public health, and sanitation grow proportionally. [312] As in most other island environments in the South Pacific, water for

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

drinking and sanitation remains, at best, in a precarious balance with growing urban population.

The process of urbanization has several causes which are significant in the framework of this research. Since the mid-1960s, the development of tourism, and its associated activities, have been stressed in the developmental plans of all island governments in the Southwest Pacific. This has had two immediate results in Tonga. First, many individuals within the agricultural sector of the population have given up their subsistence agricultural activities and moved into urban centers hoping to secure cash employment in handicraft or tourist related activities. This is particularly the case in Nuku'alofa, Tongatapu and Neiafu, Vava'u. This movement has not only rapidly increased the urban population but has also decreased the total acreage in agricultural production, or changed production from food crops to cash crops. Others of the rural population, who remain on their farms, often devote increasing amounts of time to the production of craft items. However, because of the rate of expansion in Tonyan population, total rural population has continued to increase. Therefore, as rural population continues to grow, agricultural food production is decreasing and urban population is rapidly expanding.

The second important result of urbanization, without considering the social and cultural impact, is the growing reliance upon imported foods and urban oriented materials (Horine 1967, p. 43). As urban population increases and agricultural production of foodstuffs proportionally decreases, food imports become necessary.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

168 areas, such as 'Eua, no significant difference in the proportion
842 of acceptance was evidenced. Nor were significant variations of acceptance noted between rural and urban areas.

Examination of interview responses tends to indicate that the major factor determining acceptance or rejection of a family planning program is based in economics. It was found that the average Tongan, even when knowledgeable of the population issue, was more concerned with his own cost of living, school fees, and social expenses, than with overcrowding in his village or nation. Recognition of the possibility of improving family living standards by the reduction of offspring was the major motivation for acceptance of family planning. It is argued that with current trends toward increased tourism, the economic incentive for family planning may be removed. However, fewer than one percent of the total population would benefit monetarily from these changes. Therefore, it apears that the major incentive to acceptance of planning, the possibility of improving economic status, will continue to be influential.

166 The possibility of improved economic status also is the driving force behind population migrations in modern Tonga. This possibility, coupled with related social aspects (i.e., educational facilities, urban amenities) of certain areas over others, provides the major stimulus for movement within the nation.

167 Tongans have, for centuries, been known as a regionally mobile population. However, while movements of population out of the islands were frequent, seldom were they permanent. For example,

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

167 Tongan sovereignty was, at one time, established in Samoa, Futuna, Rotuma and Uvea to facilitate collection of tribute (Gifford 1929, p. 15). Control was also extended to Fiji, the Gilbert and Ellis Islands, Niue, and the Cook Islands, as a result of war. None of these cases represents part of a permanent migratory pattern.

(166) Migration in modern Tongan history has also been largely restricted to movement within the nation. In other words, the Tongans have never had a period of large scale permanent movement out of the nation. Those individuals now leaving for New Zealand, Australia, Samoa or the United States usually do so for higher wages in industry or service activities. These people, however, usually return to Tonga within a year. (These external migration figures 166 are not yet significant, although they are increasing.) Therefore, a consideration of migration in modern Tonga is most often concerned with rural to village or city movements, or inter-island movements.

The movement of people between the islands, particularly to Tongatapu, is reaching such a significant level that government regulation has been suggested (Fiefia 1968, p. 11). The increase in the proportion of the population living in Tongatapu, and the corresponding decrease in proportions living in other islands, has become the most noticeable trend in the population distribution of the Kingdom. This movement can be explained by better educational facilities, the availability of cash wages, and a force vaguely described as the centripetal pull of urban areas.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

During interviews with individuals who had migrated to Tongatapu, the most frequently offered explanation for this migration was the desire for the best education for the children, and a subsequent qualification for careers in government service. Until recently, Tonga's secondary schools were all located on Tongatapu. Even though secondary schools have now been built on the other islands, most informants believed that the Tongatapu schools are superior. All such individuals expressed a willingness to temporarily lower their standard of living, undergo long periods of family separation or relocate the entire family, in order to achieve a long range goal of better education.

A smaller number of informants migrated to Tongatapu, due to a desire for cash employment in or near the capital. However, in many cases both motives, education and employment, were influential.

The centripetal force of urbanization, as described by Fiefia in the 1966 census report, is noted particularly with regard to younger age groups. "The drift of young people from the atolls of Ha'apai, especially, and rural areas of Tongatapu to Nuku'alofa is probably indicative of this trend" (Fiefia 1968, p. 11).

Most of the internal migration is from rural to urban areas, and Nuku'alofa is by no means the only urban area affected. The 1956 census listed six settlements, including the capital, with populations in excess of 1,000. With the 1966 report this statistic had risen to 13. (Table 6 lists these settlements with the respective intercensal increases.) These 13 evidenced a combined

TABLE 6.--Towns With 1,000 Population and Over Showing the Percentage Increase Since 1956.

District and Town	1956 Population	1966 Population	Percentage Increase or Decrease	
Tongatapu				
Nuku'Alofa including Siesia-Patangata	9,202	15,685	+	70.04
Mu'a	2,560	3,502	+	36.8
Vaini including the Government Experimental Farm	1,064	1,741	+	63.6
Ha'ateiho including Tonga College and Lotoha'apai	1,093	1,473	+	34.6
Fua'amotu including Camp Taliai of the Tonga Defense Force	827	1,343	+	62.4
Haveluloto (Havelu)	292	1,334	+	356.8
Kolonga	866	1,311	+	34.9
Houma	833	1,259	+	51.1
Nukunuku	799	1,078	+	34.9
Ha'apai				
Pangai	1,838	1,670	-	9.1
Hihifo	965	1,005	+	4.1
Vava'u				
Neiafu	2,873	3,593	+	25.0
Leimatu'a	1,004	1,068	+	6.3
Total	24,216	35,922	+	48.3

SOURCE: S. N. Fiefia, Report of the Results of the 1966 Census (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 10.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OIJ9

percentage increase of 48.3 percent of the total "urban" population and represented in excess of 46 percent of the Kingdom's population. Nuku'alofa alone accounted for nearly 21 percent of the national population total.

It is important to note that 9 of the 13 settlements (Table 6) are in the middle and eastern sections of the Tongatapu district, the areas where economic and educational activities are concentrated. These 9 villages represent nearly 60 percent of the island's population, with Nuku'alofa, alone, accounting for 32.4 percent of the total (Fiefia 1968, p. 10). An example of extremely rapid village growth is the case of Haveluloto (Havelu). This rapid growth is the result of three factors:

1. The proximity of Havelu to Nuku'alofa attracts many people who could not find land within the capital.
2. The relocation of the Tonga Copra Board and the Tonga Construction Company, from Nuku'alofa to Havelu, was accompanied by a subsequent relocation of employees.
3. The construction of a new island hospital within Havelu has attracted many residents.

The major road between Havelu's hospital and Nuku'alofa is solidly lined with dwellings.

The four remaining villages of over 1,000 population, not found on Tongatapu, are divided evenly between Ha'apai and Vava'u. Of these, Pangai declined in population during the intercensal period, while the other three registered the lowest percentage increases of the 13 settlements. This statistic indicates that movement from rural to urban areas was not as influential within

[See Category 162, p. 38--Analyst.]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

Ha'apai or Vava'u, as in Tongatapu. This conclusion is supported by the outmovement of population, both rural and urban, from these islands to Tongatapu. In Ha'apai, four villages lost population, while others increased at rates lower than the national average. In Vava'u, one-third of the villages lost population, while only two increased at a rate equal to the national average (Walsh 1970, p. 36).

Areas of Tonga most affected by in-migration are portions of 'Eua, owing to the available land, and Tongatapu. In addition to Nuku'alofa and its environs, the east central districts of Tongatapu have been most affected. The Nuku'alofa in-migration is of particular interest. Prior to 1956, the majority of migration to Tongatapu was directed to rural areas. Growth rate of Nuku'alofa during the intercensal period of 1931 to 1956 averaged 5.2 percent, while rural Tongatapu grew at a rate of 6.3 percent. However, the trend altered during the intercensal period of 1956 to 1966. Nuku'alofa, during this period, grew at a rate of 7.4 percent, while rural Tongatapu maintained the rate of 6.3 percent. This, and the preceding statistics, demonstrate the increasing importance of Nuku'alofa and the other major villages, both in terms of population (nearly 50 percent of the nation's total) and the tendency for current migration to Tongatapu to be urban oriented (Walsh 1970, p. 38).

Movements to Nuku'alofa and its environs from other areas of Tongatapu were more numerous than in-migration from other islands. This suggests a two-step migratory pattern. Frequently, a migrant from the other islands will settle initially in a Tongatapu village,

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

166 rather than move directly into the capital. Movement from these areas into Nuku'alofa primarily involves young age groups, such as school girls attending Queen Salote College.

Two factors stimulate movement from the outer islands. Centrifugal forces push people out of Ha'apai and Vava'u, while centripetal forces pull these people to Tongatapu. The most notable examples of these forces are greater opportunities for social mobility through education, improved transportation facilities between the islands, recent hurricanes in Ha'apai and Vava'u, an outbreak of black leaf streak in Vava'u, and the urban attractions of Nuku'alofa. Each of these forces can be related to economics. Simply, the average Tongan is seeking to improve his economic status to moving himself, if not his entire family, to Tongatapu.

166 362 [591] These movements to Tongatapu are complicating the already serious problem of land and housing shortages on that island. As a result, migrants often live with relatives, or within the crowded substandard dwellings near Nuku'alofa. Examples are especially prevalent along the major roads between Nuku'alofa and Pea.

166 [591] Interviews with individuals residing under these conditions revealed two important facts. If employment is secured and a permanent home established, the individual can expect additional family members and relatives to also migrate and move in with him, resulting in a cyclical process. In addition, it was found that as families leave Ha'apai and Vava'u, farmlands are not properly maintained, due to the absence of male family members, who are usually the first to migrate. Therefore, the the Kingdom is experiencing a severe

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maldistribution of resident population, with over 50 percent now living on Tongatapu. This situation is compounded by the decreasing use of arable farmland and a subsequent reduction in the production of indigenous foodstuffs (Fox 1972, p. 5).

Several Tongan geographic features are influential in the distribution of the Tongan population. The western chain of islands in the Tongan group are volcanic and therefore have been settled only intermittently. These islands, usually smaller in size, are less densely settled than the eastern coral islands. Factors, such as the lack of permanent fresh water, and land too steep for anything beyond scattered cultivation, severely limit their settlement potential. In addition, occasional volcanic eruptions further deter settlement. During the civil war period of Tongan history, most of the western chain islands supported sizable populations. However, only Niuafo'ou and Niuatoputapu continued to support communities into the twentieth century (Walsh 1970, p. 30). A volcanic eruption on Niuafo'ou in 1946 forced its evacuation and most of the village population from this island resettled on 'Eua. (Niuafo'ou was resettled in 1958.) Recent attempts to settle Kao and Tofua in Ha'apai have met with varied success. Only Tofua appears, at present, able to sustain a reasonable population. However, plans and proposals are occasionally presented for the permanent settlement of Late and Koa, also in Ha'apai.

The concentration of Tongan population within towns and villages is expected to continue to be a significant feature of Tongan population distribution. Similarly, a growth in the number

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

of village communities with populations in excess of 1,000 is anticipated, particularly on Tongatapu and 'Eua. The attraction of 'Eua appears to be the availability of land, which motivates the migration of Tongatapu's landless males. Table 7, which includes the distribution of population from the 1921 census, illustrates the population growth on 'Eua, from 1.4 percent of the total population in 1939 to 4.3 percent in 1966.

Another significant factor determining population distribution is proximity to food source. In most cases, this results in location either near the sea or near cultivated land. Maude, in his examination of Tongan areas of low and high density, has

TABLE 7.--Population Distribution.

District	Population 1921	Population 1939	Population 1956	Population 1966
Tongatapu	10,127	15,754	31,264	47,920
Ha'apai	5,976	7,483	9,918	10,591
Vava'u	5,787	8,199	12,477	13,533
Niuatoputapu	791	836	1,254	1,395
Niuafo'ou	1,108	1,378	---	599
'Eua	---[1]	480	1,925	3,391
Total	23,759	34,130	56,838	77,429

[1]Included in the Tongatapu figures.

SOURCE: S. N. Fiefia, Report of the Results of the 1966 Census (Nuku'alofa: Government Printer, 1968), p. 9.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

311 161 suggested that a balance between land and sea resources is generally the determining factor (Maude 1965, p. 63).

166 Although it is in close proximity to Tongatapu, in-migration to 'Eua has only recently been of significance. Interviews with residents of 'Eua suggested two reasons for this relative neglect. Passage to 'Eua is often dangerous, owing to the reef which surrounds the island. In addition, there is a marked lack of seafood available to the settlers on 'Eua. However, with the lack of land and the increasing population pressure on Tongatapu, coupled with the availability of land on 'Eua, in-migration is expected to steadily increase.

161 423 311 427 Population density, in relation to tillable land, is often determined by the degree of willingness on the part of Tongan nobles, to lease their holdings. In eastern and southeastern Tongatapu, large tracts of land lie idle or are used only minimally. However, in other portions of the nation, where landowners have been willing to lease, distribution is concentrated and densities are much higher.

311 [161] Table 8 includes population density statistics for the major districts of the nation. For purposes of discussion, population density can be considered at three levels: (1) uninhabited land, (2) areas of low density, and (3) areas of high density.

Uninhabited areas of the Kingdom are usually those lands which are either unsuitable for cultivation or restricted from cultivation by members of the nobility. The majority of the volcanic formations in the western Tonga chain are included within

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

By 1956, this figure had increased to 9,200, and by 1966, to nearly 16,000 not including surrounding areas. Today, Nuku'alofa, including the adjoining settlements, contains between 25 and 30 thousand persons. This number represents approximately half of the population of Tongatapu and a quarter of the nation's total population.

Nuku'alofa is not unique in these respects as many of the same features of growth are common throughout Polynesia. However, unlike other Pacific cities, Nuku'alofa is almost totally unprepared to absorb the continuing flow of 600-1,000 new inhabitants per year. The city lacks strong local government and laws, contains inadequate water and drainage facilities, refuse collection, and sewage systems, all necessary for coping with a sizable population. In addition, there are few opportunities for steady urban employment and, therefore, many persons are underemployed semi-subsistence agricultural workers dependent upon the production of others.

In these respects, one could justifiably argue that Nuku'alofa is not an urban settlement, in the true sense, but merely an agglomeration of three agricultural villages (Kolomofo'ou, Ma'ufanga and Kolomotu'a). The merging of these three villages into one urban area resulted from the establishment of the royal seat of power and the Wesleyan church headquarters at this location, plus the fact that Nuku'alofa was Tonga's first international port. The urban center of Nuku'alofa remains highly agricultural in nature. The city has acquired few new facilities other than those usually associated with administration and trade. Three

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 factors have been major forces motivating the migration of rural
166 residents into Nuku'alofa. Employment opportunities are available
369 to some individuals who have friends or close relatives already
166 employed, an attraction to potential migrants. However, surveys of
464 migrated urban residents indicated that only two percent had moved as a result of acquiring urban employment. In addition, cash income earned by this same group from urban employment was only a small proportion of total earnings. However, most agreed the possibilities of increasing their cash income were greater in Nuku'alofa than in rural agriculture, and that infrequent part-time employment was preferable. Government-owned services and operations represent the greatest source of urban employment, although church and privately sponsored work (i.e., teaching, housekeeping, and miscellaneous part-time labor) also exists.

369 A more significant factor, motivating migration to urban
166 areas, is rather vaguely defined as "urban attractiveness." In the case of Nuku'alofa, the excitement and variety of town life is
[517] especially attractive to younger age groups. Social clubs, dances, sporting events and other amusements, including the seemingly endless opportunities for kava, make village life appear to be comparatively dull to individuals confronted with daily agricultural and
[554] domestic chores. In addition, urban living is a symbol of prestige, indicative of a higher living standard. Young men most frequently migrate for these reasons although women are not to be excluded.
369 This has resulted in a large number of unemployed and underemployed
464 urban youth, characterized by young people loitering in the market
461 areas and in amusement facilities.

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areas and in amusement facilities. This situation is often blamed for the rapid rise in crime in Nuku'alofa. Burglary is the most frequent offense, although the incidence of fighting, prostitution, and petty theft have recently evidenced significant increases. Subsequently, this continuous migration of young Tongans has become a concern at all levels of government in the Kingdom (Report of the Department of Justice 1973).

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The most influential urban factor attracting rural individuals to Nuku'alofa is the opportunity of improved education. Nearly all of the secondary schools are on Tongatapu and most of these are in Nuku'alofa. The fact that substantial education is usually unnecessary for village life, and that there are few opportunities for gaining urban employment, is of little consequence in deterring this desire. As mentioned previously, families often entirely abandon their village residence in order to move into the city and acquire a better education for the children. Frequently, this migration is intended to be temporary. However, as the older children finish their education, the younger children begin. In addition, the older children often marry and, as a result, permanent residency is established. Tongans perceive education to be symbolic of prestige, even though the knowledge gained will be put to little use. Educational attainment is considered to be the simplest and most direct means to upward social movement.

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The rural factors contributing to expanded urbanization are almost entirely related to the system of land tenure and agriculture. Pressure of population upon land resources has been shown to exist

A [i.e., the high incidence of unemployment among youths in urban areas--Analyst.]

166 241 161 in varying degrees throughout the Kingdom, though it is greatest in Ha'apai and portions of western Tongatapu. As population pressure increases and maintaining a living through agriculture means becomes more difficult, migration from these regions can be anticipated. 241 Related to this issue are the decreasing agricultural yields resulting from lower fertility levels, shorter fallowing periods and the [166] expansion of cash cropping. When cash cropping profits become substantial enough to support a given household, independent of large scale home food production, the motivation for migrating to an urban area is high. Such migration results in absentee landholding and the utilization of friends or relatives to harvest the cash crop. Thus, agricultural acreage is removed from domestic food production, and 369 51 allocated to cash crop production. The cash earnings are used to maintain the household in the urban environment. Consequently, the family experiences an increased dependency upon a greater proportion of foreign imports in order to satisfy its food and material 369 433 needs. The effects of this are currently being felt in Nuku'alofa, a direct result of too many urban consumers being served by too few [457] rural producers. The Kingdom is operating under an increasing trade deficit in order to supplement native food production with imports (Table 20). A Eventually, this will necessitate major adjustments in the national economic profile.

369 554 [166] Migrating to an urban area such as Nuku'alofa often increases the social position of the household. Urban living is perceived as being synonymous with an improved standard of living, while agricultural employment is considered to be a lower prestige occupation.

A [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 125]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

464 A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

121 It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more 369 fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences 369 a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Fre- 596 quently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the 593 traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never [594] severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear [591] families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in [166] instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

369 596 593 591 166 employment is found or a means of establishing a new urban household is secured. At this point division is accomplished and the newly urbanized family becomes another potential host to migrating relatives. This system with its chain nature of migratory urbanization was observed in many of the surveyed urban households.

369 166 Thus, migration to urban areas has been in response to economic and social pressures for education, employment and the prestige of urban living, plus a lessening attachment to the traditional village life style. Therefore, migratory trends are indicative of cultural and economic changes in Tonga, which are expected to continue.

436 178 With the development of cash cropping and a greater dependency being placed upon a cash economy, money has become an essential to the average Tongan. Not only is it needed to meet social obligations (i.e., education, taxes and church contributions) but it is also increasingly important in satisfying the basic subsistence needs of both rural and urban residents. The desire to increase cash income has altered the agricultural pattern of the nation from traditional to cash cropping, thus eliminating a dependency upon the land for production of food and material necessities. These changes have been facilitated by fluctuations in post-World War II copra prices, and such natural disasters as drought and hurricanes.

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369 166 [464] While Nuku'alofa does not offer full-time employment to most migrants, there remains the possibility for part-time labor, sufficient to meet the minimum cash requirements. Thus, urban

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369 migration in Tonga is not only closely tied to a desire for social
166 mobilization, but also to fundamental economic changes. The urbanization process has, therefore, been encouraged by conditions in both the urban and rural environments of Tonga. A variety of factors have been influential, with each part acting to accelerate
[554] the whole. The role of social status and prestige in everyday Tongan life motivates the continuation of these transitions resulting in the potential social and economic disruption of the Kingdom.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Summary

121 The objectives of this research were threefold:

1. To assess alterations in the population profile of Tonga (i.e., natural increase, internal migration and urbanization).

2. To determine the influence of population growth, land tenure and the development of cash cropping upon the agricultural economy of Tonga.

3. To determine the degree to which urbanization has altered the nutrition status of the Tongan people.

Prior to fulfilling the above objectives, it was hypothesized that:

1. Increases in population are accompanied by subsequent increases in (a) pressure upon agricultural lands, (b) population migration, and (c) urbanization.

2. Increases in cash income among agricultural producers are accompanied by subsequent increases in migration to urban areas, and decreases in agricultural production of food crops in ratio to total national population.

3. Increases in urbanization are accompanied by subsequent increases in reliance upon imported foodstuffs, and decreases in domestic food production and nutritional status.

Data acquired during field investigations supported the 121 above hypotheses. A condition of increasing urbanization in Tonga 369 was found to be the result of (1) natural population growth within 161 166 178

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

121 369 urban areas, (2) displaced individuals migrating due to increased 161 population pressure on agricultural land, and (3) migration of 166 those rural individuals with sufficient income from cash cropping 178 enterprises. (The above is summarized within Figure 2).

178 Despite increases in the absolute quantity of domestic food 121 production, research results indicated that population growth more 241 than nullifies these gains. This situation is aggravated by the withdrawal of acreage from domestic food production resultant from (1) expanded cash cropping, and (2) increasing absentee landholding. [439] The ensuing gap between population and domestic food needs requires that Tonga import large quantities of foodstuffs (Table 20).[A]

121 Further investigation revealed that the consequences of 178 urbanization in Tonga are (1) decreased domestic food production 146 per capita, and (2) retarded physical development of preschool 369 children most likely due to inadequate dietary quality, as shown 121 in Table 21, and Table 28 (p.188).[B] However, in order to strengthen the reliability of the preceding hypotheses, it is recommended that they be tested in relation to alternative societies.

Implications

241 The Tongan social structure and systems of land tenure and agriculture, in combination with expanding urbanization, require that Tongan governmental officials realize the vital role of agriculture in the Tongan economy. To date, the Kingdom lacks any other alternative resources. Thus, care must be taken to stabilize and revitalize agriculture and domestic food production.

A [See Category 457, p. 124--Analyst.]
B [See Category 146, p. 136 and 188--Analyst.]

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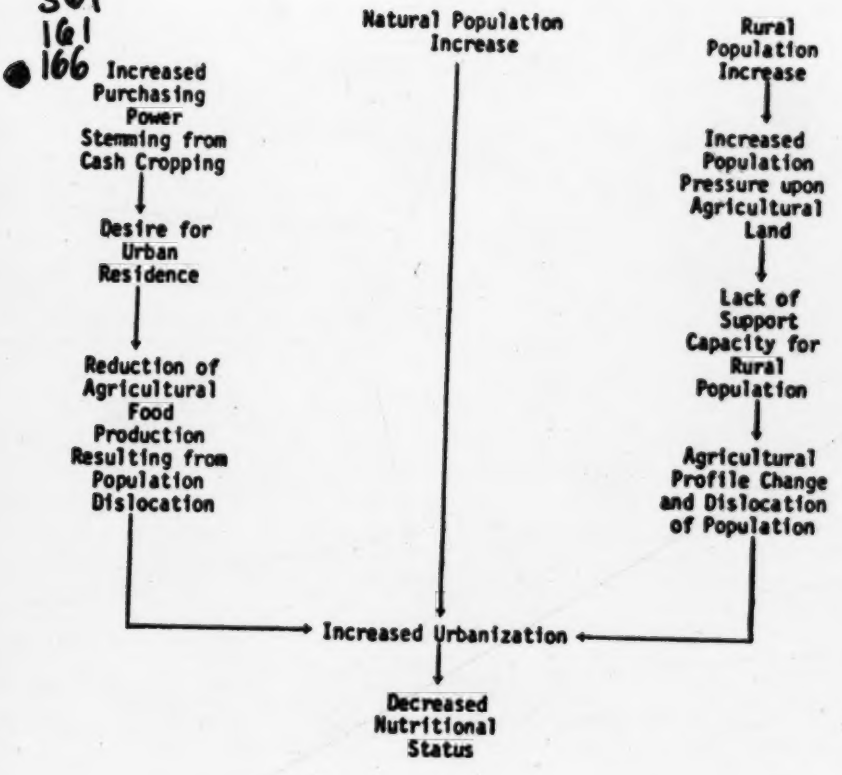
Natural Population Increase
Rural Population Increase
Increased Purchasing Power Stemming from Cash Cropping
Desire for Urban Residence
Reduction of Agricultural Food Production Resulting from Population Dislocation
Increased Population Pressure upon Agricultural Land
Lack of Support Capacity for Rural Population
Agricultural Profile Change and Dislocation of Population
Increased Urbanization
Decreased Nutritional Status

Figure 2.--Urbanization: Kingdom of Tonga